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XVIII.
ON THE TRUE SITE OF CALVARY:
WITH A RESTORED PLAN OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF
JERUSALEM.

Walk about Zion, and go round about her. Tell the towers
thereof: mark ye well her bulwarks: consider her palaces.

THE age of Constantine occupies, as it were, the neutral ground of classic and mediæval antiquity; but though the subject we are about to consider—the site of Calvary—is almost extraneous to the scope of this journal, it is one which, connected as it is with our holy religion, must always command a paramount interest and attention; and one which, therefore, we are by no means inclined to set aside.

From the day when the “Church of the Holy Sepulchre” was founded, to the present time, on each anniversary of the Saviour’s death, crowds of anxious and zealous pilgrims flock to the sacred shrine, fondly believing that each object they see around them is hallowed by the Saviour’s touch, that here exist the evidences of all that they have once been taught,* that to

* Thus, so early a Christian writer as Cyril (c. 348) exclaims:—“Though I should now deny it, (our Lord’s passion,) this Golgotha confutes me, near which we are now assembled; the wood of the cross confutes me, which has from house to house been distributed piecemeal to all the world.” (See also in p. 316, the extract, iii. 28, of Eusebius’ *Life of Constantine*.)

stand within the Holy Sepulchre is to be in communion with their God, and thinking that not to have seen Jerusalem, they had almost not known the Lord.

With the prevalence of such feelings, we cannot wonder at the sacred awe with which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was regarded, at the jealous earnestness with which its identity was insisted on, and at the wrathful feelings which its first calling into question would excite.

Such questionings did at length arise. "From time to time objections were urged with much earnestness by several writers, which, if substantiated, would altogether overthrow the history of the discovery of the cross: viz. that 'Helena chose a wrong site for the Holy Sepulchre.'" (Newman, *Essay on Miracles*.)^{*} Even so early as the year 1600, we find Pope Gregory† implying the difficulty of the site. So too other writers in the subsequent centuries:‡ Monconys, in 1647, speaking of the Gate of Judgment, so called, says it is "the gate by which Jesus Christ went to Calvary; which, therefore, ought to be outside the city; which is difficult to conceive, for at present it is in the middle, although the town is now much smaller than it was then."§

These, however, were rather objections which an obedient son of the Church would easily gulp down, rather than serious difficulties. The first determined charge was made by Korte, a Saxon schoolmaster, in 1741, the dream of whose whole life had been to visit Jerusalem and the Holy Land. From the extract which I have given of his work, he will doubtless be considered by some as an enthusiast or fanatic; but his honest and sensible remarks have found him favour with Busching, Bachiene, and Bruns. His unacquaintance with the dead languages deprived him of the power of following up the deliberate convic-

^{*} J. H. Newman, *Essay on Miracles*, with a translation of Fleury's *Eccles. Hist.*, p. cliii.

† *Id.*, p. clxix.

‡ Robinson, *Bibl. Sac.*, pp. 172, 173.

§ *Voyages*, i. 307.

tions at which he had arrived: to supply which defect, Plessing, another German writer, "resolved to strengthen and support the arguments of the worthy Korte, and set them in a stronger light, and so to supply what the want of reading had denied him."* It is much to be regretted that neither of these works has yet been translated into our language. The first, in this country, to make the attack, was the learned traveller, Dr. Edward Clarke. It would be idle to enter into particulars of the theories attempted to be set up by this writer, for they are now exploded. Suffice it to say, being overwhelmed with the conviction that the traditions respecting the Holy Sepulchre were monkish fables, he was content to take nothing upon trust, and extended his disbelief to other portions of the city, as the Mount Zion, respecting which there could be no doubt. He seemed to be content to allow objects to be anywhere, provided they did not remain where the monks had placed them.† He was answered by Bishop Heber (?) in the *Quarterly Review* for March 1813.

Things had reverted now to pretty nearly their former state, when the Rev. Dr. and Prof. Robinson, and the Rev. Eli Smith, visited the Holy Land in 1838. Their work, entitled *Researches in Palestine*, (3 vols., 8vo., 1841,) is, or ought to be, too well known to require a description. It is an authentic, impartial, and compendious account of the Holy Land, and must ever remain the standard of reference for all treatises on that country. In it they proceeded to examine the 'sacred places' of the holy city; confronting the traditions and legends connected with them with the unimpeachable testimony of the Bible, the lamp of history, and the light of reason. Not only did they state their conviction that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre did not represent the place of Christ's burial, but they supported

* Plessing, *Golgotha*, Vorrede, xiii.

† The wildness of his views has been scoffed at and refuted by the advocates of traditionary evidence, who forget that "infidelity is the daughter of superstition."

their argument with topographical proofs which were as new as they were unexpected.

This was met by the Rev. J. H. Newman, with his *Essay on Miracles*, wherein he had the temerity to declare that "the greater part of the miracles of Revelation are as little evidence for Revelation at this day, as the miracles of the church are evidence for the church ;"* *i. e.*, that the miracles of the Bible have equal, but no more credibility than the miracles of the church. Of these, he asserts nine to be fully conclusive in his mind,† the fifth of which is that of "the Discovery of the Holy Cross by Helena."

On a reply by Dr. Robinson, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*,‡ in which work the author brings forward some additional objections, the Rev. George Williams, who was sent out as chaplain to the late lamented Bishop of Jerusalem, seized the opportunity of writing a work, (*The Holy City*, 8vo., Lond., 1845,) the object of which he is at no pains to conceal,§—the bringing into disfavour, or, as he expresses it, the "exposing the fallacy of the Biblical researches" of Dr. Robinson.

Two years afterwards, in 1847, appeared *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, by James Fergusson, F.R.A.S., wherein the author, projecting a theory of his own, not only pulled down the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but built up another in its place.

This bold attempt was speedily visited by a *second edition* of

* *Essay on Miracles*, p. cix.

† Mr. Williams is vexed that Mr. Newman brought forward particular examples, (which might always be objected against,) instead of dealing in generalities. "The subject of ecclesiastical miracles has been discussed with great ability in an essay....and I cannot help fearing that he has said more than can with safety be advanced, not in defence of them generally, but in support of particular alleged miracles." (*Holy City*, p. 152.) Compare with this what he afterwards says of some of them in particular. (p. 152, 175, 177, etc.)

‡ A most valuable and interesting publication, commenced in 1843, and continued to the present time.

§ *Holy City*, Pref., p. 6.

Mr. Williams's book, now grown into two thick volumes, wherein, backed by Professor Willis, he turns upon his new assailant, at the same time that he elaborates his attack upon his ancient foe.

To notice all the arguments brought forward by these writers, and to lay before the reader a clear exposition of the topography of Jerusalem, would require volumes; I propose, therefore, in the present Part, to exhibit only some of the more prominent features of each, relative to the *Alleged Site of the 'Holy Sepulchre,'* after giving an introductory view of the subject, from Eusebius; and then, in a Supplement, to lay before the reader my own deductions as to the *True Site of Calvary.*

Pilgrimages to the Holy Land commenced early in the third century; and, from that period, they gradually increased till the year 315, when Eusebius speaks of Christians "who came up to Jerusalem from all the regions of the earth, partly to behold the accomplishment of prophesy in the conquest and destruction of the city, and partly to pay their adorations on the Mount of Olives where Jesus ascended, and at the cave in Bethlehem where he was born."* On the conversion of Constantine, his mother, Helena, then nearly fourscore years of age, in conformity with this custom, made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 326, and having visited the places of the nativity and ascension, caused splendid churches to be erected over those spots.

I. *The Discovery of the Holy Sepulchre as recorded by Eusebius.*

(III. 25.) "The pious emperor, Constantine, judged it incumbent on him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour's resurrection an object of attraction and veneration to all. He issued immediate injunctions, therefore, for the erection on that spot of a house of prayer; and this he did, not on the mere impulse of his own mind, but feeling his spirit directed thereto by the Saviour himself.

(III. 26.) "For it had been, in time past, the endeavour of impious men, (or

* Robinson, *Bib. Res.*, ii, 12, 13, quoting Eusebius.

rather, let me say, of the whole race of evil spirits through their means,) to consign to the darkness of oblivion that divine monument of immortality to which the radiant angel had descended from heaven, and rolled away the stone, etc. . . . This sacred cave, then, certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing, by their folly, that thus they should be able effectually to obscure the truth. Accordingly, they brought a quantity of earth from a distance, with much labour, and covered the entire spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound. Then, as though their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation . . . a shrine to the impure spirit, whom they call Venus. . . . These devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed for a long time, nor had any one of the governors, or military commanders, or even of the emperors themselves, ever yet appeared with ability to abolish these daring impieties, save only our prince, who enjoyed the favour of the King of Kings. And now, acting as he did under the guidance of His Spirit, he . . . gave orders that the place should be thoroughly purified, etc. . . .

(III. 27.) "Nor did the emperor's zeal stop here; but he gave further orders, that the materials of what was thus destroyed, both stone and timber, should be removed, and thrown as far from the spot as possible; and this command was also speedily executed. . . . Nay more, fired with holy ardour, he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth, and the soil which had been polluted by the foul impurities of demon-worship transported to a far distant place.

(III. 28.) "This also was accomplished without delay. But, as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hallowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered. Then, indeed, did this most holy cave* present a faithful similitude of His return to life, in that, after lying buried in darkness, it again emerged to light, and afforded to all who came to witness the sight, a clear and visible proof of the wonders of which that spot had once been the scene, a testimony to the resurrection of the Saviour clearer than any voice could give."

The Emperor's Letter.

(III. 30.) "Victor Constantinus, Max. Aug. to Macarius.

"Such is our Saviour's grace, that no power of language seems adequate to

* "There were not a few caves in the city hollowed out of the rock, which we observed concerning the floor of the Temple. Into one of these Simon the Tyrant betook himself, with his accomplices, when he despaired of his affairs." (Lightfoot, *Chorog. Cent.*, xxxv. 9.) See another instance in xxxv. 8; and see Joseph. *Bell.* vii. 14, 16, and 20.

describe the wondrous circumstance to which I am about to refer. For, that the monument of His most holy passion, so long ago buried beneath the ground, should have remained unknown for so long a series of years, until its reappearance to His servants now set free through the removal of him (Licinius?), who was the common enemy of all, is a fact which truly surpasses all admiration. For, if all who are accounted wise throughout the world were to unite in their endeavours to say somewhat worthy of this event, they would be unable to attain their object in the smallest degree. Indeed, the nature of this miracle as far transcends the capacity of human reason as heavenly things are superior to the interests of men. For this cause, it is ever my first, and indeed my only object, that, as the authority of the truth is evincing itself daily by fresh wonders, so our souls may all become more zealous, with all sobriety and earnest unanimity, for the honour of the divine law. I desire, therefore, especially, that you should be persuaded of that which I suppose is evident to all beside, namely, that I have no greater care than how I may best adorn with a splendid structure that sacred spot, which, under Divine direction, I have disencumbered as it were, of the heavy weight of foul idol-worship; a spot which has been accounted holy from the beginning in God's judgment, but which now appears holier still, since it has brought to light a clear assurance of our Saviour's passion.

(III. 31.) "It will be well, therefore, for your Sagacity to make such arrangements and provision of all things needful for the work, that not only the Church itself, as a whole, may surpass all others whatsoever in beauty, but that the details of the building may be of such a kind, that the fairest structures in any city in the empire may be excelled by this. And with respect to the erection and decoration of the walls, this is to inform you, that our friend Dracilianus, the deputy of the Prætorian Præfects, and the governor of the province, have received a charge from us. For our pious directions to them are to the effect, that artificers and labourers, and whatever they shall understand from your Sagacity to be needful for the advancement of the work, shall forthwith be furnished by their care. And as to the columns and marbles, whatever you shall judge, after actual inspection of the plan, to be especially precious and serviceable, be diligent to send information to us in writing, in order that whatever materials, and in whatever quantity, we shall esteem from your letters to be needful, may be procured from every quarter as required.

(III. 32.) "With respect to the roof of the church, I wish to know from you whether, in your judgment, it should be ceiled, or finished with any other kind of workmanship. If a ceiling be adopted, it may also be ornamented with gold. For the rest, your Holiness will give information, as early as possible, to the before-mentioned magistrates, how many labourers and artificers, and what expenditure of money is required. You will also be careful to send us a report, without delay, not only respecting the marbles and columns, but the ceiling also,

should this appear to you to be the most beautiful form, God preserve you, beloved brother!" (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*.)

The church was completed in the year 335.

II. IONAS KORTENS, ehemaligen Buchhändlers zu Altona, *Reise nach dem weiland Gelobten, nun aber seit siebenzehn hundert Jahren unter dem Fluche liegenden Lande; wie auch nach Egypten, den Berg Libanon, Syrien, und Mesopotamien: Von ihm selbst aufrichtig beschrieben und durchgehends mit Anmerkungen begleitet.* 12°. 1741.

"In my twentieth year, while teaching the children of a village school in Saxony, my attention was struck by reading *Deut. xxix. 22-29*, in which occur these words:—'The strangers that shall come from a far land shall say, when they see the plagues of that land, and the sicknesses which the Lord hath laid upon it. . . . Even all nations shall say, wherefore hath the Lord done thus unto this land? What meaneth the heat of this great anger?'

"These words made upon me, even then, a very strong impression, and the idea thenceforth engaged me, to go and see that land to which God had especially manifested his goodness and his retributive justice, and which he had set as a manifest example to the whole world, but especially to Christendom. In my twenty-fifth year I was laid on a bed of sickness, and by the cords of His mercy was led to vow unto Him a sincere repentance. . . . I now endeavoured, after the injunction of the Evangelist, to care for nothing in the world but food and clothing, and gaining these by the labour of my hands, to trust in Him who knows beforehand what we require. Formerly, I had thought it impossible to journey to the land of Canaan without a well-filled purse, but now I said to myself, 'You seek no longer the things of this world, you care not in what state of life you may be placed, you desire neither courts nor palaces, so it must be indifferent to you where in the world you may be found; and clothing will not fail you, if you are content to labour in whatsoever thy hand findeth to do.' In this persuasion I left England in my thirtieth year, and reached Constantinople and Smyrna. Up to this period, I had been without care, anxiety, or restlessness; full of courage, joy, and faith, and had failed in nothing; but now, I began to lay aside my humility, I refused to work, and my previous contentment of mind gave place to restlessness, care, and trouble, and all was lost. I took ship again for England. . . . My greatest trouble was, that I felt that my heart was not at peace with God. I now took up the trade of a bookseller, and after twenty years of business, I found myself blessed with many temporal enjoyments. Serenity and contentment again returned to my mind, and

nothing hindered, but that I should resume my former project of visiting Jerusalem and the earthly Canaan.

"The object which I had in view, I have already explained. It was, as a stranger from a far country, to see how exactly and righteously God had fulfilled his threatenings to his once favoured people, and thus, at the same time, to convince myself of the truth of his prophecies, and to be a witness of the same truth to those who had not opportunity to see those things with their own eyes.

"Among other results of my journey, I must especially mention the discovery that what is now received as Mount Calvary cannot be the true one. I trust that the veil of error will now be removed from the eyes of the whole world, and such a blow be given to the godless honouring of this place, that the deceived people may at length open their eyes, and consider how long they have been groping in the dark, and fancied that those offerings could be well-pleasing to God, which are so opposed to the service which God requires." (*Vorrede.*)

"The 'holy places' are brought together in this church as in a 'raree-show'. It is the greatest spiritual toll-house, as it is also the most godless place, in the whole world: and it forms a fearful stumbling-block to Jews and Mahometans. (pp. 44, 51.) How could the place of burial have been only fifty paces distant from that of the crucifixion? How was it that the cross was allowed to have been removed? Did they bury it by permission, or secretly? It could not have remained on Calvary: for if the Jews discovered that the Christians were in the habit of coming hither, to pray to a piece of wood, this being contrary to the precepts of their religion, they would have burnt the cross, and stoned the blasphemers. (51-52.) How is it that the rock, in which they show the rent of the earthquake, is hollow underneath, and reposes on two stones? (55.) How is it that we hear nothing of Melchizedek's grave, and of Adam's head, in the tradition of the Jews? From whom did the Christians receive the information? (56.) How could Calvary be so near to the Temple, and in the very heart of the city? (158, 193.)

"Another error into which the learned are fallen, is that Jerusalem does not occupy the same place as the old. For not only does the present city stand within the ancient boundaries, but it occupies the most central and the principal portion of the old city: and therefore I could scarcely believe my eyes, when I considered how many travellers and learned men had fallen into this error. For, indeed, it is impossible that the walls on the east and west sides, confined as they are by deep valleys, can have been otherwise than as at present existing. To be persuaded of this, you have only to look at the position of the city from without.* (164, 165, 177.)

"I can only explain how so palpable an error has been handed down and

* See the general view of Jerusalem in Bartlett's *Walks about Jerusalem*.

received from antiquity, by considering that it is in God's anger that they have been smitten with blindness, and been groping as blind men in darkness, even in noon-day. For when in the third and fourth centuries the knowledge of Christ was gradually lost sight of,—especially the fundamental principle that salvation is obtained only by faith in his name.—erring men laid their salvation in inanimate objects, in lifeless places, in wood and stone; and thus God was pleased to visit them with darkness, so that they mistook even the places which they designed to honour." (167, 168.)

Other objections which he adduces are those of—*Population*: He asks, how the city, restricted in the manner insisted on by the advocates of the sepulchre, could have contained the population specified by ancient historians, and this in a land where the houses are seldom of more than two stories in height? (176.) *Impolicy*: How could the Jews have built their wall in a situation by which the city would be exposed to the superior position of Mount Calvary, while the western valley was so near to them? (177, 178.) *Want of correspondence with Scripture*: The Evangelists say nothing of Golgotha being on a mount, but rather lead us to infer that it was in a valley: (189, 190:) and *Probability of Deception*: He objects the frequent recourse to rocks and caves. Indents in the rock are pointed out as caused by Stephen when he fell: and impressions in the rock are shown at Gethsemane, as proceeding from the feet and hands and one knee of the Saviour. (75, 81.)

"After long consideration how it could be possible that the early fathers could have erred so grossly as to choose this false site instead of the true one, in a manner so contrary to the evidence of their senses, I found for them the following excuse. It is manifest to all confirmed Christians that God, who, as eternal Love, only desires that fallen creatures should be raised up again, should permit those means which men adopt in sincerity of heart. This, however, is certain, so soon as such means degenerate into empty custom, and fall into misuse, they are deserving of abolishment and curse, like the brazen serpent in the wilderness. The first authors and founders of these things had doubtless a good design and honest intention therein, and believed that it was even incumbent on them to observe with becoming solemnity the anniversaries of the death, and resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, and that the places of those events should be sought out; and thus to remind themselves, or rather to bring home to their hearts, what the Saviour had done and suffered on their

behalf. Had they thus only regarded the thing, and not to the honouring of the outward places, it might have been excusable that they should openly have selected this hill, knowing all the while that it was not the true site; and that some one should have cut the footsteps in the Mount of Olives, when Helena desired to build a church there. From such original intention, which, however, was not a pure one, afterwards grew the gradually increasing corruption in religion, which has now reigned for so long a time, and still exists. That such places are worthy of curse, we must consider as a sufficient reason—the placing of remission and forgiveness of sins on the pilgrimage to, and honouring of, such places. For thus was lost the chief and fundamental article of the Gospel, viz. that we obtain forgiveness of sins only by faith in the name of the Son of God, together with that which follows therefrom, that God purifies our heart by such faith. But this is certain, that no dead, but a living faith, is necessary.

“The foregoing considerations had induced in me respect to the early fathers, although there yet remained many difficulties: but when, after my return to my native country, I read the following account* of Synesius, afterwards Bishop of Ptolemais, such respect well-nigh vanished from me altogether. He writes thus to one of his friends: ‘The populace despise things easily to be understood: you must have recourse to imposture. A philosophical spirit, which searches after truth, permits itself to lie when there is occasion: for there is the same analogy between light and truth, as there is between the eye and the people. If the eye received too abundant light, it would be hurtful to it, and obscurity is more useful to those whose sight is feeble. In the same manner is falsehood useful to the populace, and truth is dangerous to those who have not power to contemplate it in its simplicity. If the laws of the Church permitted such proceeding I would embrace the priesthood, but on condition, that I might be a philosopher at home, provided I appeared in public as a relator of fables. . . . What is there in common between the people and philosophy? Truth should be kept secret: the populace require a different teaching.’

“I readily allow that few doctors of the Church were so shameless as he: but this I say, that the ground and desire of lying exists in all unregenerate men, and such men are unable to contend against it; nay, they feel an inward pleasure in such cleverly-imagined fables. Of this accursed lust it happens that all travels and topographies of the Holy Land are filled with such tales; thus writes one after another, although a half-witted can comprehend that it is but a fiction. Thus the cause is manifest as the light of day why the tales, the lies, the histories, and the other deceits at Jerusalem and in the Holy Land are in-

* In Maturin Veyssiere la Croze, *Hist. du Christianisme d’Ethiopie et d’Armenie*, La Haye, 1739, pp. 11, 12. Synesius was ordained by Theophilus, A.D. 410. He is accused by M. La Croze of having forged the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, in favour of monophysism.

roduced, and how these damnable doctrines of Satan's synagogue* have swept over Eastern Christendom as a mighty flood, and been followed by a turning back into sin, and an imbibing of the errors of Mahometanism. Nor should we wonder that they, in return, are smitten with blindness, so that not only can they not find the tomb of Christ, but even the site thereof remains unknown: which fact I think to be prefigured by the tomb of Moses, of which it is said that 'no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day'." (193-196.)

III. Johann Friedrich Plessing, *Ueber Golgotha und Christi Grab*. 12mo. Halle, 1789. pp. 1-542, divided into 46 Sections.

This work was intended by its author to supply the deficiencies of Korte's description, and consists of a most able and elaborate exposition of the falsity of the so-called Holy Sepulchre. I proceed to notice some of his principal arguments.

1. *Golgotha was the place of public execution.*

The Golgotha of Jerusalem answered to the Pompeian way of Mamertia, the Corvus of Thessaly, and the Sestertium of Rome. (i. 1, 2.) The gate which led to this place corresponded to the Esquiline Gate, (Lipsius,) or the Porta Metia (Pareus) of Rome, and the Porta Charonia of Athens. (iii. 16.)† The place of execution, among the Romans, was near a public thoroughfare,‡ that the execution might be not so much a punishment as an example. Quintil., *Declam.* cclxxv. (v. 27, 28, 32, 33.) Thus we read, 'They that passed by,' etc. Matt. xxvii. 32.

2. *The place of Christ's burial was held in no esteem by the Apostles and early Christians.*

The Apostles were living witnesses of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection: what need had they of lifeless stones? The disciples have received instruction

* "The church of the 'holy sepulchre' and its chapels are the sepulchre of the Christian religion of the East, wherein all vitality is swallowed up, where the very stones receive the homage which belongs to the Redeemer alone." (Rev. W. J. Woodcock, *Script. Lands*, p. 158.)

† "Causa nominis quod ibi decollare homines solerent, qualia loca Romæ erant Sestertium et Gemoniæ." Matth. Hilleri, *Onomasticum Sacr.* s. v. *Golgotha*. Jerome refers to the Gemoniæ at Rome, the Ceadas at Sparta, and the Barathrum at Athens (*Opera*, iv. i. 137; iv. ii. 547.) See also Suidas, s. v. Βάραθρον, Καύδας, and Κεδδας.

‡ He conceives it to have been on the Joppa road, which lay north-west of the city; but he determined this position from a mistaken notion of the Dung Gate. The road to Bethlehem, across the valley of Hinnom, would also be a great thoroughfare. It was, indeed, the great South Road.

from the Apostles, and seen them sealing their testimony with their blood: what need have they of other witness? S. Chrysostom states that the Apostles and early Christians "had not busied themselves with it, partly because they were fearful of so doing, and partly because they were occupied with other matters." *Hom. lxxxiv. in Joh.* The acknowledgment is important that they did not busy themselves about the place of burial; but we are better able to appreciate the character of the early Christians, than to believe that their reason for so doing was that of fear. Minucius, in refuting the calumny of Cæcilius, says, we neither honour nor fear the cross. "Cruces etiam nec colimus, nec horremus," xii. 4, and xxix. 7. (x. 72, xlii. 368.) The sepulchre might have passed into other hands, and been used for other purposes, and thus, gradually, all knowledge of it would be lost. (ix. 61.) The Christians had fled to Pella before the siege of the city by Titus, and they remained there till the reign of Hadrian, when Aquila was appointed as governor. Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Pond.*, xv. 171. Sulp. Sev. *Hist. Sacr.* ii. 31, n. 4. (xviii. 133.) Indeed, had they desired to return, the troubled state of the country would have precluded their so doing. (xi. xiii.)* The first pilgrimage that we read of is that of Alexander, a bishop in Cappadocia; Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 11; and the next is referred to by Firmilianus, in a letter to Cyprian; Cyp. *Epist.* 75. But these earlier pilgrimages, down to the time of Eusebius, were always to Bethlehem and the Mount of Olives. Cyril interprets Ps. cxxxii. 7, 'We will go into his tabernacle, and fall low on our knees before his footstool', as referring to Bethlehem, *Catech.* xii. 20; as he refers, Zech. xiv. 4, to the impression of the feet on the Mount of Olives. Eusebius, Jerome, Origen, all consider that Bethlehem is the place referred to in the former passage. (xix. 149-158.) During this time, the bishops of Jerusalem had resided at Pella, where we find one of them, Simeon the son of Cleophas, put to death in the reign of Trajan, in the year 120. (xv. 102.) Up to their return to Jerusalem, they had always elected Jewish bishops, but at this period we find the election falling upon a Roman, Marcus. (xviii. 136.) Hadrian not only received them kindly, but took them into his especial favour and protection; and, as we find from Grosius, Lampridius, and Epiphanius, he forbade their being condemned without proof, he built a temple in honour of Christ, he appointed as governor a man whom he knew to be favourable to their opinions, and he allowed them to remain in Jerusalem after the insurrection of Barcochba, though he prohibited the Jews from so doing. (xxvi. 203, 204.) This circumstance, alone, would show that the Christians could not have been present at the second siege of Jerusalem, or they would

* The Christians were treated by Barcochba in the most cruel manner for refusing to join him in his revolt. The country was so desolated, that wolves and hyænas are recorded to have entered the city in the year 133: (Dion Cass. lxi. [14:]) and the celebration of the passover was transferred from Mount Nisan to Mount Ijar. (Bp. Muenther in *Bib. Sacr.* i. 425, 226.)

have been excluded in common with the Jews. (xxvi. 193.) How could Hadrian have thus invited them, had he, as represented by later writers, purposed to insult them, by desecrating the spots which they held as sacred? (xxvi. 202-204.)* "How awful is the consideration that the Spirit of God should be brought forward as a lying witness, in order to account for a pretended desecration of the spot by the heathen! (195.) The statue of Jupiter Capitolinus was not over the grave, as pretended by Jerome, nor over the place of crucifixion, as pretended by Paulinus, but over the temple of Solomon; and it was erected, not in enmity to the Christians, but the Jews. Did Hadrian hold the goddess Venus in so little esteem, to be of so foul and degrading a nature, that he was content to build her a temple over a tomb; and could he think to raise a temple to the king of gods in a spot of infamy, in a place of public execution? (205, 206.) On the contrary, the emperor gave to his city perfect religious freedom, and the Christians might, had they so desired, have built their church at the Holy Sepulchre; but, in accordance with the Psalms and the Prophets, they chose Zion for their residence, and erected there their churches, which they called synagogues. (xviii. 142-148.) Either, therefore, they did not regard the sepulchre with feelings of peculiar sanctity, or they were ignorant of its situation; and, consequently, the story of the temple of Venus is a fable. But it is probable that in the time of Hadrian the position of the sepulchre was no longer known, for in the second year of his reign, and previous to his rebuilding it under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, he entirely destroyed the remainder of the city, which had escaped in the siege of Titus. (xiv. 99, 100.)

3. *The finding of the 'Holy Sepulchre' was a matter of worldly polity.*

The fourth century believed in dreams, visions, and other proofs of divine attestation. (xxi. 164.) It was by means of a dream that the empress Pulcheria discovered the bodies of the forty soldiers who were slain by Licinius; it was by a dream that Ambrose freed himself from the authority of Rome, and set up his church at Milan, through the discovery of the precious relics of Saints Gervasius and Protasius; and it was thus that the Bishop of Jerusalem sought to free himself from subjection to the Bishop of Cæsarea, by feigning Helena to have been instructed in a dream as to the position of the cross and sepulchre. (xxi. 164; xxiii.; xxxiv. 268.) Would Mahomet have established his kingdom, if he had not given out that he was the prophet of God? Would Constantine have succeeded in inspiring that confidence in his troops which enabled them to overcome all their enemies, if he had not pretended to have seen a vision of the cross? Euseb. *Vita Const.* i. 29; ii. 8. (xxx. 171.)

The heathen ideas which still animated Constantine and Helena, led them to search for the cross of Christ. The heathen believed that, by the use of

* The same opinion is expressed by Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, p. 308.

certain words, hymns, signs, and other actions, according to the instructions of theurgy, the gods might be induced to confer particular benefits on their worshippers, to grant their requests, and to bestow victory and protection. The emperor observed that the Christians constantly made use of the sign of the cross,* and he believed that such sign had an extraordinary virtue in protecting the person using it from the power of evil spirits. He found himself opposed to Maxentius, a man who employed all manner of magical arts against his enemies. To whom shall he apply in such extremity? He is overwhelmed with concern. What shall he do? He has it! He will turn the superstitions of the people to his own advantage. How natural then does not the dream appear, that Christ appeared to him, and commanded him to make use of the cross?† Nor were his expectations frustrated. He obeys the revelation, and conquers Maxentius. We find him afterwards acknowledging, "So soon as I displayed thy sign (the cross) I raised together a victorious host," *Vita Const.* ii. 55: and Eusebius observes, "The emperor honoured this conquering sign, because he thereby obtained secret power from God. By this sign have the hosts of the enemy been put to flight, and the legions of evil spirits been destroyed. By this sign has the pride of those who withstood God been humbled, and the tongue of the godless blasphemer silenced. By this sign are the savage nations brought into subjection."‡ *Orat. de laud. Const.* 740. (xxvii. 211-215.)

But his thoughts are influenced also on behalf of Jerusalem. He reflects that other cities rose into importance from the celebrity of their fanes. But if he be asked where was the principal seat of his religion, what could he answer? He resolves therefore to embellish the city, and to erect sumptuous temples: (xxxi. 237-244:) and he believes that the city shall remain impregnable so long as the wood of the true cross should be supposed to remain there. (xxi. 171.) Need we be surprised, then, at the discovery of the sepulchre? Even before

* Cyril insisted on the efficacy of the cross in exorcising evil spirits. (*Catech.*, iv. 14; xiii. 3, 36.) A story is told of the Emperor Julian, who, being initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries, at Ephesus, by Maximus and Chrysanthus, and seeing spectres of fire, involuntarily made this sign of the cross, on which they disappeared. He then observed, "There is some efficacy in this sign of the Christians": on which Maximus, with ready wit, answered, "Do you think you have frightened the gods? No; but they will not hold converse with a profane person, such as you appear."

† Cyril considered this as the appearance of the sign of the son of man.' (*Epist. ad Constantiam*, v. and vi. p. 213.)

‡ It seems probable, from the present dispute between the French and the Russians, relative to the 'Holy Places', that the so-called 'Holy Sepulchre' may again become a pretext for political intrigue and temporal aggrandizement.

the event was accomplished, we find Constantine making preparations for the intended church. "Quippe jam pridem hoc apud se constituerat, idque quod erat futurum, divina quadam alacritate præviderat." (*Vita Const.* iii. 29; xxvii. 217.) How could the doting Helena be indifferent to so specious an undertaking? She does whatsoever is desired of her. She considers herself the favoured instrument in the hand of God for bringing to light this 'salutary sepulchre.' She is even made to believe that she has surpassed the Virgin Mary.—"Illa (Maria) quasi sancta Dominum gestavit—ego crucem ejus resuscitatum. Illa generatum docuit—ego resuscitatum. Illa fecit ut Deus inter homines videretur—ego ad remedium peccatorum divinum de ruinis elevabo vexillum." Ambrosius, *In Concione de Obitu Theodosii Aug.* n. 43, t. ii. op. p. 1210. (xxvii. 218.)

Cyril collects together most of the passages in the Bible descriptive of the praise and glory of Zion and Jerusalem, only to apply them to the seat of his bishopric, and to make it of more consideration in the eyes of Christendom. The following passages are thus misapplied:—Is. xlv. 23; Zach. ix. 9; Ps. xlvii. 1, 13; xcvii. 8; cxlii. 6: (*Orat. in occursum Domini*;) Is. lx. 1; i. 26, 27; ii. 3; xlix. 18; lx. 8; lxvi. 8; lxx. 20. (*Catech.* xviii. No. 34, p. 301.) And these pretexts ultimately led to the appointment of Juvenal, the Bishop of Jerusalem, as Patriarch, in lieu of the Bishop of Cæsarea. (xxxiv. 269, 270.)*

4. *Objections to the received tradition.*

Hadrian having demolished the whole of the ancient city, it must have been a work of considerable time to people his new city. Ælia was therefore necessarily of more restricted area than the ancient city. How, then, is it possible to suppose that the town of Hadrian could in any part exceed the ancient limits?† Granted that the walls were entirely destroyed, and the foundations

* The bishop and the clergy of Jerusalem have seen the zeal with which Helena has performed her pilgrimage, the simple and pious credulity with which she has listened to, and inquired after, every vague tradition; they have beheld the glorious temples rise up at her command, and the costly gifts she has bestowed upon them; and, shall they remain silent? She is already in the decline of life, and who knows how soon she may be carried off? One hint from them might cause her to persuade the Emperor, or resolve, even herself, to do more for Jerusalem than she had already done for Bethlehem; for the church at Bethlehem far exceeded in grandeur that of the Mount of Olives.

† Nothing can be clearer than the language of Brocardus:—"Nec verum est, ut quidam opinantur, ipsam urbem nunc in alio loco sitam esse, quam fuerit dominicæ passionis tempore. . . . Talis sic dicunt quia regionem et urbem ipsam non viderunt. Situs Jerusalem est, et semper fuit, talis quod stante templo Domini intra ejus mœnia vanum fuisset, imo impossibile eam ex toto ad alium

rooted up, the external line of wall was too strongly marked by nature to allow of its being obliterated. Can we suppose that Hadrian would carry his line of wall along garden-land on the lower slope of a hill,* and thus lay it open to an enemy on the higher ground of Calvary, instead of availing himself of those strong defences, so celebrated by all writers? (xvii: xxvi. 208.) But is it true, that the site of the Sepulchre lay outside of the city, even in the time of Constantine? Eusebius writes:—"In provincia autem Palestina, apud civitatem quæ Hebræorum regia quondam sedes fuit, in ipso urbis meditullio, ad locum dominici sepulchri, Basilicam immensæ amplitudinis et ædem sacram in honorem sanctæ crucis omni magnificentiæ genere exornavit." *Orat. de laude Const.* ix. 741. (xxvi. 208; xliv. 394.) The expression used by Eusebius, "opposite to that old Jerusalem," would apply to the Temple, in opposition to which, as it were, the Christian church was erected.

The discovery of the cross is not mentioned by Eusebius, and this omission is important, as it takes so principal a part in the narratives of subsequent writers. The attempt, indeed, was made to interpolate the circumstance in the writings of Eusebius, but the forgery was detected by Gelasius, *Dist.* xv. 3. Not only is the Aquitanian Pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem in 333, silent respecting the cross, but Juvencus, Gregorius of Nyssa, Ambrosius, Grosius, Philostorgius, Basilus of Seleucia, Sedulius, Alcinus Avitus, Palladius, and Eumenius are alike silent. (xlii. 364. For various contradictions as to the period and manner of discovery, see xlii. 365, 366.) The pieces of the cross in many churches are as new as if they had been only just cut off. Salmasius apud Bartholin. *de latere Christi*, pp. 269, 270. From the variety of woods of which these are composed arose the tradition, that the foot was of cedar, the body of cypress, the arms of palm-tree, and the tablet of olive-tree.

"Pes crucis cedrus, corpus tenet alta cupressus,
Palma manus religat, titulo lætatur oliva."

J. H. Ursini, *Urb. Bibl.* xv.

Is it probable, that the holes for the cross would be sunk down a few inches in the live rock,† instead of being fixed and rammed into the earth? Do not

locum transferre propter locorum munitionem; ex omni parte consimilem enim munitionem alibi habere non posset ullo ingenio." (*Descriptio Terr. Sanct.*, viii. 43.)

* The ground outside of the church of the 'Holy Sepulchre' is 25 to 30 feet higher on the north-west, than on the east and south-east sides. (Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopædie*, art. Jerus. s. 315. b.)

† A recent traveller, who had formed a very erroneous idea respecting Mount Calvary, had promised some of his friends to bring home some earth from "the place where the cross had stood," but on arriving there he found nothing but rock and marble. (*Morgenblatte*, Jan. 1843, No. 22.)

Juvenus and Cyril say that Golgotha was a field, a garden? (xliii. 385.)* Cyril says expressly that it was not above the ground, as the tombs of the kings, *Catech.* xiii. 35, p. 200. He compares it to a pit, such as that in which Joseph was cast, and calls it *λάκκος*, and he believes that Jeremiah prophesied of Christ's grave, when he said, 'They have cut off my life in a dungeon, and cast a stone upon me', *Lam.* iii. 53; as David did, when he said, *Ps.* lxxxviii. 4, 6, 'I am counted with them that go down into the pit'.† (xliii. 358.)‡ This manifest disagreement with the Scripture narrative, caused Modistus, in a subsequent age, to give the tomb a form entirely different from that of Cyril's. (xliv. 391, 398-400.)§

But where is the rock which rose above the pavement of the Church of the Resurrection, and in which the soros for the body was? Had not Hakim levelled it with the ground? Could another rock arise in which the tomb of Christ might be shown?—If the patriarch Nicephorus built a new grave it could not have been of rock. (p. 423.) William of Baldensel, in the year 1336, states, that it was not composed of one mass of rock, but of many fragments put together, and compares it to the towers of Hippicus, Phasaëlus, and Mariamne, "the stones of which were so artfully joined together, that each tower looked like one entire rock," *Jos. Bell.* v. 4, § 4.|| (pp. 424, 426.)

We are told, that Constantine built two splendid and very large churches, one over the grave, and the other over the place of crucifixion. Let any one take the plan of the present church, and say how these two large churches could have stood, side by side, without touching; and the two sacred places being so near to each other, why they should not have been included in the

* How is it, if it required digging for in order to be found, that while the adjoining parts of the ancient city are forty feet beneath the surface, Golgotha remains on a level with the ground?

† 'Εθανάτωσαν ἐν λάκκῳ ζωὴν μου καὶ ἐπέθηκαν λίθον ἐπ' ἐμοί. "Extinserunt in fovea vel lacu vitam meam, et posuerunt lapidem super me." *Λάκκος* est fovea intra terram. Putat tamen Cyrillus sepulchrum Domini ea voce intelligi non solum in hoc Jeremiæ loco, sed etiam in *Ps.* lxxxvii. 5, (*Ps.* lxxxviii. 4, 6,) ubi David non tam de se, quam de Messia dicit: "Æstimatus sum cum descendentibus in foveam." (*εἰς λάκκον*).—Casaubon, *Exercit. ad Annal. Baron.* xvi. 99.

‡ Lucas Wadding states, they descended formerly to the grave by a flight of marble steps: "Ipsum Christi per cancellos aut fenestras duntaxat cernere licet, olimque patebat aditus per scalas subterraneas marmoreas." (*Annal. Ord. Minor.*, vii. ad ann. 1342, § xxiv. p. 265.)

§ "Illud sepulchrum fuerat in petra excisum; et illa petra stat *super terram*." (Willebald, *Hodæporicon*.)

|| J. A. Schmid, *De Tumba Servatoris*, i. 2, § 6, p. 26. I have not been able to find the book.

same structure. (pp. 486-490. See Cyril *Catech.* xiii. 39.) "*Welch ein elendes Gedicht ist nun nicht die Identität des heiligen Grabes?*"*

IV. *Biblical Researches in Palestine.* By Rev. Dr. E. Robinson and Rev. E. Smith. 3 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1841.

"Such is the account which Eusebius, the cotemporary and eye-witness, gives of the churches erected in Palestine by Helena and her son Constantine. Not a word, not a hint, by which the reader would be led to suppose that the mother of the emperor had anything to do with the discovery of the holy sepulchre, or a building of a church upon the spot. But, as I have already remarked, this was the age of credulous faith, as well as of legendary tradition and invention, if not of pious fraud; and this silence of the father of church history respecting Helena, was more than made good by his successors. All the writers of the following century relate as with one voice, that the mother of Constantine was from the first instigated by a strong desire to search out and discover the Holy Sepulchre and the sacred cross on which the Saviour had suffered. A divine intimation had pointed out to her the spot; and, on her arrival at Jerusalem, she inquired diligently of the inhabitants. Yet the search was uncertain and difficult, in consequence of the obstructions by which the heathen had sought to render the spot unknown. These being all removed, the sacred sepulchre was discovered, and by its side three crosses, with the tablet bearing the inscription written by Pilate. The tablet was separated from the cross; and now arose another dilemma, how to ascertain which of these three was the true cross. Macarius, the bishop, who was present, suggested an appropriate means. A noble lady of Jerusalem lay sick of an incurable disease; the three crosses were presented to her in succession. The two first produced no effect; but at the approach of the third, she opened her eyes, recovered her strength, and sprang from her bed in perfect health. In consequence of this discovery, Helena caused a splendid church to be erected over the spot where the crosses were found." (*Bibl. Res.* ii. 14, 15.†) "Neither Cyril nor Jerome‡ make mention of Helena in any connection with either the cross or the sepulchre." (ii. 16.)

* Such is the tradition connected with which Church of the 'Holy Sepulchre' an "English Secretary of State, in the nineteenth century, expressed with becoming force and feeling the regret with which the unseemly altercations (of the Greek and Latin churches) about *shrines sacred to the common associations of all Christians* must be regarded by every man of piety and reflection." (*Times*, Feb. 21, 1853.)

† Quoting Rufinus, ob. 410; Theodoret, fl. c. 440; Socrat., fl. c. 440; and Sozomen, fl. c. 450.

‡ Nor the Bordeaux pilgrim. (Rob., *Bibl. Sacr.*, p. 185.)

The following is the substance of other arguments put forward by Dr. Robinson:—

He asks, whether it be probable that the 'Second Wall' would have been carried along so weak a line as the lower slope of Acra, (i. 392;) and whether it could have taken in the 'Pool of Hezekiah', and excluded the Holy Sepulchre, when in so doing it must have formed a sharp angle? and he refers to the remains of an old gateway by the Damascus Gate, which must have formed part of this second wall. (ii. 68, 69.) He also shows, as Korte and Plessing had done before him,* the possibility of their being in error in this instance, by their having erroneously fixed upon the site of another spot—that of the Ascension, showing from the parallel passages in St. Luke (xxiv. 50, 51) and Acts (i. 12), that the ascent took place from Bethany, on the further slope of the Mount of Olives, and not from the summit of the mountain. (ii. 77; *Bibl. Sac.* i. 177.)†

Thus, then, in this following century, sprang up the sacred myth which we are now required to believe. Each succeeding writer embellishes the story where he thinks it wanting,‡ till at length Helena's name is ascribed to almost every ancient church in the country. Mr. Newman contends only for the two earlier testimonies, Eusebius and Cyril, and acknowledges that later testimony coming from foreign lands, and exaggerated by popular belief, "whether true

* Korte, *Reise nach dem ehemaligen gelobten Lande*, ii. 9, p. 163; Plessing, *Ueber Golgotha*, xx, 163.

† Bartholomew de Salignaç, a French pilgrim in the beginning of the sixteenth century, relates of this building,—“I will acquaint you with a fact which is undoubted by the faithful. Those who, standing near to the place of the footmarks of the Blessed Jesus, lift up their eyes towards heaven in a direct line, will see a luminous opening in the ætherial regions, as though the heavens had opened asunder. What do you suppose, O Christian brother, that this can mean, unless it show to the servants of Christ the way by which the glorified Lord Jesus ascended into Heaven? But they say that, if you change your position a nail's breadth, this heavenly way will immediately vanish from your sight.” (Barth. a Saligniaco, *Itin. Terre Sancte Descript.*, ix. 3.)

One footmark is more visible than the other; and Treter considers it probable that, in the act of ascension, the right foot might have been supported by an angel. (Radzivil, *Hieros. Peregr.*, Ep. ii. 82.) Other accounts say that the Turks have removed one footmark to the mosque of Omar. The writer cannot state whether there be one or two footmarks, for he did not go within the building.

‡ Adrichomius introduces an aged Jew, who, being starved for seven days, by order of pious Helena, consents to pray to God to reveal the site to him; and on his prayer an earthquake ensued, and he was instantly converted. (*Theatr. Terre Sanctæ*, 176.)

or false, is exposed, *primd facie*, to suspicion."* If so,—in what does this boasted miracle consist? That Constantine, being desirous of finding the Holy Sepulchre, found (whether recently or long excavated) a sepulchre, which he called the sepulchre of Christ; and that in a later age, according to evidence which must be viewed with suspicion, the discovery was attributed to Helena, who is then said to have also found the true cross, the reality of which was attended by an especial miracle,—the spear, the crown of thorns, the four nails, the tablet with its inscription, and the other objects of monkish evidence.†

He concludes the consideration of this question by observing :

"Thus, in every view which I have been able to take of the question, both topographical and historical, whether on the spot or in the closet, and in spite of all my previous prepossessions, I am led irresistibly to the conclusion, that the Golgotha and the tomb now shown in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, are not upon the real places of the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord. The alleged discovery of them by the aged and credulous Helena, like her discovery of the cross, may not improbably have been the work of pious fraud. It would perhaps not be doing injustice to the bishop Macarius and his clergy, if we regard the whole as a well laid and successful plan for restoring to Jerusalem its former consideration, and elevating his see to a higher degree of influence and dignity." (ii. 80.)

"Another circumstance also engaged their attention; Cesarea was at this time the metropolitan see of Palestine; and that of Jerusalem, which formerly had sunk so low, was now pressing its claims and striving to regain its ancient pre-eminence. Even so early as at the Council of Nicea in 325, its claims had been presented; and they were then acknowledged and affirmed, saving, however, the dignity of the metropolitan see. *It is worthy of notice, that the discovery of the sepulchre took place the very next year.*"‡

These were among the principal points put forward in the *Biblical Researches*; in noticing which, the *Quarterly Review* (of Dec. 1841), after doing justice to Dr. Robinson's learning and

* *Essay on Miracles*, p. cli.

† In answer to the objection—"How can the wood of the cross have been preserved in the earth for three hundred years?" Mr. Newman asks—and I will give the question in his own words—"Moreover, if the discovery was not really made, there was *imposture* in the proceeding, an imputation upon the Church at Jerusalem, nay, in the event, on the whole Christian world, so heavy, as to lead us to weigh well which is the more probable hypothesis of the two, so systematic and sustained a fraud, or the discovery of a relic, or in human language, an antiquity, three hundred years old?"

‡ Robinson, *Bibl. Sacr.*, i. 170.

research, adds:—he “has been dispassionate, almost to tenderness, in his treatment of this poetic legend;” and concludes, by depicting “the fatal and inevitable effect of pious fraud, of long superstition: it may work its object with generations of believers, but the time must at length come when it will injure, often most seriously, the cause which it wished to serve.”

V. *Essay on the Miracles recorded in Ecclesiastical History.*
By (the Rev.) J. H. N(ewman). 8vo. 1842.

Sect. V, Art. 5. *The Discovery of the Holy Cross.*

This section of Mr. Newman's Book is written to disprove and nullify, if possible, the evidence brought forward by Dr. Robinson. Though written by one who, as the title of the Essay indicates, is a believer in the miracles of the middle ages, and one, therefore, who is willing to accept traditions which are rejected by the Protestant Church, the Essay shows the writer to have been actuated by sincere motives. Though endeavouring to vindicate the “Catholic” Church, Mr. Newman does justice to her opponent. He acknowledges that Dr. Robinson, “whose learning none can question, and whose zeal for Scripture all must honour, . . . writes with gravity and temper;” (pp. clviii. clxviii. ;) but he accuses him of objecting to the site, “with the view, not simply of disproving the fact, which is a point of secondary importance, but of fixing upon the Fathers and Church of the fourth century the imputation of deliberate imposture, and that for selfish ends. . . . It stands to reason which party is *more likely* to be right in a question of topographical fact, men who lived three hundred years after it, and on the spot, or those who live in 1800, and at the antipodes.” (pp. cliv. clv. clvii.) The following is the nature of his apology:—

“The reality of our Lord's tomb was attested by a miracle: and Eusebius alludes to the occurrence of miracles at the Sepulchre. Nay, the very fact, that a beam of wood should be found *undecayed* after so long a continuance in the earth, would, in most cases, be a miracle.” [Mr Newman then adds:—]

"There are few people who would once acknowledge this, that would find any further difficulty in the tradition, that miracles were wrought by it." (p. cliii.)

But, though Mr. Newman wishes it to be inferred that Eusebius here alludes to the discovery of the *cross*, the facts of the case will not bear out the inference. It is true, that Constantine, in his letter to Macarius, speaks of "a miracle beyond the capacity of human reason," and writers have too hastily supposed, that this refers to the discovery of the *cross*, narrated by subsequent authors and thus tacitly acknowledged by Eusebius: but a reference to Eusebius himself, (iii. 28, immediately before he introduces Constantine's letter,) clearly shows that the miracle here alluded to, is simply the discovery of the *sepulchre*. (See the passages at length, iii. 28 and 30, of Eusebius, *ante*, p. 316.)* If, therefore, Mr. Newman affirms, that "the main *authority* for the present site of the Holy Sepulchre is Eusebius," (p. clvi.) and that it be requisite, that the reality of the tomb be attested by a *miracle*; it is quite clear that Eusebius is to be acquitted of believing, or wishing it to be inferred, that any such miracle took place as that supposed. The mistake into which later writers have been thrown, is owing to the fulsome and extravagant language in which Eusebius writes.

In answer to the objection raised against the site of the Church of the Ascension, he observes:—"One does not see how a tradition can be said to *contradict* Scripture, which, on the face of the matter, does but take one text *instead* of another." (p. clvii. note g.) Mr. Newman must have written this inadvertently: he cannot have intended to set Scripture against Scripture, in order to support a theory which he finds to be apparently in accordance with one passage, though it is opposed

* "A cave that had now been cut out in the rock, and which had received no other body. For it was necessary that it, which *was itself a wonder*, should have the care of that corpse only; for it is *astonishing* to see even this rock, standing out erect and alone on a level land, and having only one cavern within it." (Euseb., *Theophania*, p. 199.)

to another. He objects, that Bethany is not on Mount Olivet ; but suggests, that the name was that of a district, which extended to Mount Olivet. He urges, that "it is not fair to object that the Church of the Ascension *falls short* of a sabbath day's journey, without accounting for the circumstance, that Bethany *exceeds* it:" and he represents Dr. Robinson as affirming, that the Ascension did not take place from the Mount Olivet, and therefore as opposing Scripture ; (pp. 1571, 58 ;) and he finally escapes by the argument of the uncertainty of the length of a Sabbath day's journey. (pp. clvii. and clvii.) There are two misstatements made here. Dr. Robinson, as we have seen, shews Bethany to have been on the lower slope of, and therefore *on* Mount Olivet :* and it is Mr. Newman, not Dr. Robinson, who misquotes Scripture ; for in the first chapter of Acts, the 10th verse, narrating the Ascension, refers to Bethany, and is therefore in accordance with Luke xxiv. 50, while the Sabbath day's journey mentioned in verse 12, refers only to the Mount of Olives, over which they then passed, not to the village of Bethany, or the place of the Ascension.†

In answer to the question, "Whether the Second Wall went across Acra, or outside of it?" he suggests, that the ruins by the Damascus gate, considered by Dr. Robinson as forming part of the Second Wall, may be of prior date to the building of that

* This may be illustrated by Josephus's description of the wall which Titus built around Jerusalem, and which is said to have taken in the Mount of Olives, although we know, from the circuit of the wall being only thirty-nine stadia, that only the base of the mountain could have been included. (*Bell.* v. 12, § 1.) Thus, the Ascension having taken place from Bethany, the Evangelist represents it as occurring on the Mount of Olives.

† Mr. Williams, who repeats Mr. Newman's defence, acknowledges : "If it can be proved that this tradition, whose origin is lost in the antiquity of the Ante-Nicene period, is palpably false, this fact will serve greatly to weaken the force of traditionary evidence in general, and of that relating to the Holy Sepulchre in particular." (*Holy City*, 1845, p. 367.)

Footmarks were shown in many pagan temples of the divinities who were supposed to have stood there. A like superstition is evinced by Mussulmans on

wall. (p. clxi.) Dr. Robinson, however, clearly shows it to have been a gateway.* He then reverts again to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. He contends, that Dr. Robinson's objection of the smallness of the city and its dense population, would be but very little affected by the site of the Holy Sepulchre. (pp. clx—clxii.)

Lastly, notwithstanding the various points already discussed, he pretends that "Dr. Robinson's arguments rest on a definite and single fact, and for that single fact he offers no (certain) proof." It is that connected with the 'pool of Hezekiah.' His objection is twofold: *first*, he contends that the angle complained of is unimportant; that "if Calvary were a place for execution and burial of criminals, there would be a reason why the wall should avoid it;" and that moreover, Dr. Robinson shows a bend in his own line of wall: and, *secondly*, he denies the identity of Hezekiah's Pool, charging Dr. Robinson with having fixed it solely by tradition. Quoting 2 Chron. xxxii. 30, he says, "First, the inspired writer tells us that Hezekiah brought the water into the *City of David*, and the pretended pool is *not* in the city: and next, that he brought it to the *western* side of the city, and the pool is on the *north*:" and he charges Dr. Robinson with disregarding the sacred text, which he professes to consult. He sums up his objection, by asking, "Could it be, that a pool which Scripture says was within the walls, should be situated upon a place of execution, which Scripture as surely places without them?" (pp. clx.—clxix.)

In answer to this *coup-de-grace* it may be observed, that if the site referred to were the ancient Calvary, and the city were

behalf of the footmark shown by them in the Dome of the Rock. The following is the account of a tradition respecting the Church of the Ascension held and originated by Christians: "It is a remarkable circumstance that the spot last trodden by the Divine footsteps, when the Lord was taken up to heaven in a cloud, never could be covered with pavement like the rest of the floor; for whenever it was laid on it, the ground, impatient of every thing human, rejected it, and shook the marble in the faces of those that brought it; forming thus a perpetual evidence of the dust being trodden by God, inasmuch as you may see the impression of his footsteps. But though what was thus trodden, is daily and eagerly carried away by the faith of the multitudes who flock thither, the spot yet sustains no loss, for the earth still retains its own peculiar form, as if marked with the impression of his feet." (Taylor, *Anct. Christianity*, ii. 289, quoting Paulinus, bishop of Nola, Epist. xi.; Sulpitius Severus, *Hist. Sacr.*, ii. 33.) Plessing alludes to the same tradition, and asks: How is it that the impression, which was then in sand, is now in rock?

* *Bibl. Sacr.*, p. 190.

restricted in its width, (which is most improbable,) it could have been purified and taken into the city, and Calvary removed further off; the sudden *bend*, which he accuses Dr. Robinson of having in his own plan, is that where the wall *curves* round gradually towards the Tower of Antonia, southward from Bezetha, which bending is perfectly independent of the sudden angle by the so-called church of the Holy Sepulchre; and which *bend* Mr. Williams imitates in his second edition. The charge about tradition, is entirely gratuitous, Dr. Robinson having proved the position from the Bible; (see *Bibl. Res.* i. 488, 489;) and, with regard to the reference quoted, (2 Chron. xxxii. 30,) it is Mr. Newman who is in fault, in consequence of his confining the 'City of David' to the Acropolis of Zion, and thereby causing it to present a wrong bearing from the pool in question. And, lastly, if there be any weight in the argument of the improbability of a pool being situated in the vicinity of a place of public execution, it is manifest that the objection in equal force will attach to the place of execution being in the vicinity of a public pool. But we must now listen again to Dr. Robinson.

VI. *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Vol. i. Edited by Dr. Robinson. 8vo. New York, 1843. Art. III. *The reputed Site of the Holy Sepulchre*. By the Editor.

In this article are considered, more at large, several arguments for and against the Sepulchre, which were imperfectly entered into in the *Biblical Researches*. The following is an abstract of the Professor's reasoning:—

The silence of the Bourdeaux Pilgrim has been considered corroborative of Eusebius' silence; but Mr. Newman objects, that the former "is silent also about the place of the ascension and of St. Helena's church there; though no one denies this part of St. Helena's history. So unsafe is it to argue from a negative." (p. ccxvi.) In answer to this, Dr. Robinson brings forward a quotation from this very author, to the effect that, "*ibi facta est Basilica jussu Constantini.*" (*Itin. Hieros.*, 595.)

But it may be asked, how are the silence and indifference of the Apostles

and early Christians to be accounted for? (p. 167); and how is it that Eusebius, writing ten years or more before the discovery of the Holy Sepulchre, in speaking of the pilgrimages to Bethlehem and the Mount of Olives, did not refer to the Holy Sepulchre, had there been any certain tradition respecting its site? It is urged by Mr. Newman, that "the *warrant* for the preservation or recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, is the pagan temple raised over it upon the destruction of the city by Hadrian, which became a lasting record of the spot;" but if the discovery of the sepulchre was effected by a miracle, then the tradition respecting the temple of Venus, etc. and the assistance rendered by Jews and Christians, is a fabrication; or, if this be true, then the finding of the sepulchre could be no miracle. Neither, indeed, is the testimony concurrent; some describing a temple of Venus, others a statue of Jupiter. Hadrian also is mentioned by some writers, and not by others. (pp. 182—184.) Not only also is the tradition itself untrustworthy, but the various particulars are alike incredible. Dr. Robinson asks, whether it is likely that the crosses would be buried in a country where wood is so scarce that the floors and roofs are generally vaulted? (pp. 166, 167:) but we may ask further, how is it that only three crosses were found, if this were the place for the crucifixion of criminals, and if, as is asserted, it was the custom of the Jews to bury the instruments of death with the corpses of malefactors;* or, if it be said, this was by miracle, then how is it that the miracle was extended to the crosses of the two thieves, when it would have been equally apparent if the 'real cross' only had been preserved?

As to the Pool of Hezekiah, independently of the difficulty which we should experience in bringing water into the acropolis of Zion, were that considered as the 'City of David,' there would yet remain the reservoir in question, which, call it by whatever name one may, must, from its military importance, have been included within the walls of the city, and not exposed to an enemy; in whatever case we view it, therefore, the city wall must have gone round this pool or reservoir. (pp. 199, 200.)

He shows how unsafe it is to trust to tradition for the determination of sacred sites, by referring to instances of former error.

"In the vicinity of the Convent at Mount Sinai, there have been pointed out to all travellers for many centuries, not only the places where Aaron cast the golden calf, and Moses broke the tables of the law, and the sites of other like events, but also the spot where the earth opened and swallowed up Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, with their followers. . . . But it so happens, that according

* *Sanhed.*, xlvi. 1; Lightfoot, *Heb. and Talm. Ex. on Acts*, viii. 2; Nic. de Sepul. Heb., iii. 5, § 5. But this custom prevailed only amongst the Jews, not among the Romans. (Plessing, *Golgotha*, x, 62.)

to the Scriptures, this miraculous occurrence took place after the Israelites had reached Kadesh, eleven days' journey from Horeb and Sinai. (*Num.* xvi. xiii. 26. *Deut.* i. 2.) "Eusebius and Jerome both describe the site of Ramah, the city of Elkanah and Samuel, as being near to Lydda, which lies N.W. of Jerusalem. . . . Now we know that when Saul had visited Samuel at this Ramah, and was about to return home by Gibeah, 6 miles N.N.E. of Jerusalem, his way led by the sepulchre of Rachel, which is 5 miles S. of the same city, a topographical impossibility." Eusebius places Aceldama on the N. of Zion; Jerome, 70 years later, fixes it on the S. where it remains unto the present day. In like manner the Beersheba of the Crusaders, which they placed at Beit-Jibrin, a point considerably N. of Hebron and Gaza, cannot have been the true site: and the Scala Santa of Rome, up which, for centuries, the "faithful" have painfully crawled upon their knees, cannot have been, as represented, the stairs of the 'house of Pilate;' for this is stated, ever since the fourth century, to have been identical with the fortress Antonia, "where we know that the Roman armies during the siege of the temple, levelled everything to the ground, in making their approaches." "But the most striking instance to illustrate the falsity of the claim in behalf of an 'antecedent probability,'—one, too, in which the probability, and the testimony on which it rests are even stronger than in the case of the sepulchre itself,—is that of the reputed place of our Lord's ascension on the *summit* of the Mount of Olives." (pp. 174-177.) . . . The church of St. Stephen, erected by the Empress Eudocia in A.D. 460, is thus alluded to by Mr. Williams. It is "an *unhappy* circumstance that the site of the proto-martyr's sufferings was found for many years without the Damascus gate . . . and what is more provoking is, that the Empress Eudocia erected a large church at the supposed place of his martyrdom." (*Holy City*, p. 364.) Dr. Robinson then pleasantly retorts, that "the people and clergy residing on the spot must have known the place, at least they were much more likely to know it, than those of the fifteenth century, or than any partial witnesses of the nineteenth century." (*Bibl. Sacr.* iii. 638-642.)

He concludes his Essay by repeating his conviction, that—

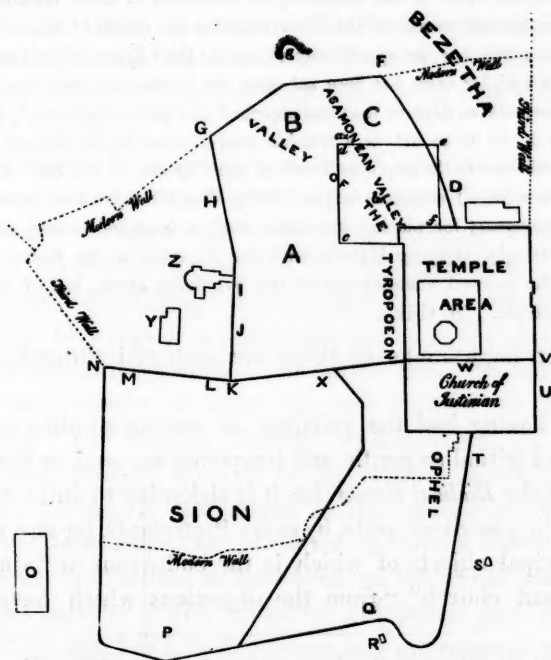
"The Golgotha and the tomb now shown in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre are not upon the real places of the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord:"* and with respect to his opponent, after accusing him of *suppressio veri*, and of *suggestio falsi*, he adds, "Indeed, I can hardly expect to find my own views subjected to a severer scrutiny by any future antagonist more able, nor probably by any one more disingenuous." (p. 202.)

Alas! he was woefully mistaken: no sooner had his last

* See the same conviction similarly expressed, after a careful analysis of the whole evidence, in Bachiene, *Hist. und Geog.*, Beschreib. von Paläst. ii. § 135; and in Ersch and Gruber, *Encyclopädie*, art. Jerus. ss. 274 a, 315 b.

Essay been published, than a zealous advocate sat himself down to oppose it, and in two years afterwards, appeared

VII. *The Holy City.* By the Rev. George Williams, M.A. Lond. 1845.



Plan of Jerusalem as composed from Mr. Williams's description.

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|--|--|
| A. (No Man's Land.) | Q. Fountain Gate—Valley Gate. |
| B. Acra. | R. Pool of Siloam—The King's Pool. |
| C. (No Man's Land.) | S. Fountain of the Virgin—The Dragon Fountain. |
| D. Sheep Gate, or Valley Gate. | T. The Dung Gate. |
| F. Tower of Hananeel? | U. The Horse Gate. |
| G. Damascus Gate—Fish Gate. | V. The "Tower that lieth out." |
| H. Old Gate. | W. The Water Gate. |
| I. Gate of Ephraim—Valley Gate. | X. The "turning of the wall, even the corner." |
| J. The "Broad Wall." | Y. The Pool Amygdalon. |
| K. The Corner Gate—The Tower of the Furnaces. | Z. The Church of the "Holy Sepulchre." |
| L. The Gate Gennath. | a. Traditional site of the "House of Herod." |
| M. The Water Gate. | b. The "Porta Judiciaria"—The Via Dolorosa. |
| N. The Tower Hippicus—The Armoury. | c, f, e, d. Antonia. |
| O. Birket es Sultan.—The "Pool that was made." | g. Grotto of Jeremiah. |
| P. The Tomb of David. | |

The motive of the book he candidly states in his Preface,—

"And now, should it be asked what occasion there was for another volume, I

will offer the best apology I can. A work of much research has now been for some years before the world, one unavowed but *ill-disguised* object of which is to bring discredit on the early local traditions of Palestine, so as ultimately to involve the venerable Fathers of the Church in the charge of dishonesty, or unaccountable ignorance. The *affectation of candour and impartiality** with which the inquiry into the value of the ecclesiastical traditions is there conducted, has given an additional weight to the observations in the minds of those who have neither the means nor the opportunity of testing their accuracy for themselves; so that *much higher value has been set upon the arguments than they deserved*. I do not hesitate to declare that one object of the present volume," &c. "My only desire is to act as a humble man-at-arms in the attempt to 'tear from the unbelievers the precious Tomb of the Captain of our Salvation,' and in common with all engaged in the 'Holy War,' I must feel grateful to a generous adversary for placing me under such a glorious banner, thereby, I trust unwittingly, arraying himself with the disciples of the Koran and the Crescent, the avowed enemies not of the Sepulchre alone, but of the Holy Church Catholic." (p. vi-ix.)

Similar imputations to these are scattered throughout the book.

After having had the privilege of reading so able, learned, pious, and withal so gentle and temperate an essay as that contained in the *Biblical Researches*, it is sickening to find a work of such sterling merit set aside, by many Protestants, for one, among the principal objects of which is the endeavour to "vindicate the ancient church" "from the objections which have been

* Contrast all this with Mr. Newman's testimony (p. 332). Mr. Finlay, another advocate for the identity of the 'Holy Sepulchre', though on other grounds, thus speaks of the 'Biblical Researches': "The opponents as well as the supporters of Dr. Robinson's views, appear to consider the 'Biblical Researches' as the chief source of information on the subject, for they use it as their guide even while they attack its conclusions.... The most learned and impartial statement.... He states his case in a clear and candid manner." (*Essay on the site of the Holy Sepulchre*, 8vo., Lond., 1847, pp. 9, 10.) For similar sentiments, even more strongly expressed, see the *North British Review* for Feb. 1845, and the *Quarterly Review* of Dec. 1841. See Dr. Robinson's own feelings, as expressed in *Bibl. Sacr.*, i. 157, 171, 172: and see the ample testimony given to the value of the *Biblical Researches*, compared with the stricture on the "hateful, spiteful controversy of Mr. Williams" in the eminent geographer of Berlin, Carl Ritter, *Die Erdkunde*, vol. xvi. Abtheil. i. pp. 305, 380.

raised to [what Mr. Williams considers as] her most venerable traditions." (p. 365.) Referring to the charges brought against Helena, the author says—"Such was the person whom modern Christians can pity and despise, whose name they dare to cast out as evil, and to stigmatise in language *it would be a sin to repeat.*" (p. 168.) He censures Dr. Robinson for not having filled his pages with the traditions of the native Christians of Jerusalem, those very persons whose fables he was desirous of exposing. (p. 257.)

Mr. Williams is an advocate of the 'Catholic' Church, and a supporter of the prescriptive rights and dignities of the priesthood. On his being sent out as chaplain to the late excellent Bishop of Jerusalem, Dr. Alexander, he had an opportunity of assisting that prelate in his endeavours to extend the blessings of a pure Christian doctrine, "to the Jew first, but also to the gentile." So far as Mr. Williams can be understood relative to what he has thought fit to write respecting "the English Mission" at Jerusalem, (p. 473,) it would seem, that he is averse to the manner in which it has been established, if not indeed to the establishment of any mission at Jerusalem: he "believes the Greek Church, whatever be her deficiencies, to have been, on the whole, remodelled after the pattern of the primitive and purest ages of Christianity," (p. 485,) and he deprecates any interference with that church which might tend to "a schismatical separation from those who are 'over them in the Lord.'" But Mr. Williams's severest anger is directed against the "American Congregationalists" at Jerusalem. (p. 467.) The effects of this mission is "a most distressing subject" to Mr. Williams, (p. 472), and he draws an absurd and preposterous picture of the miserable state of "the most favourable specimen by far of all (the conversions) with which he had any dealings." (p. 470.)* Speaking

* Contrast this with Dr. Hogg's testimony to their usefulness. (*Visit to Alexandria*, etc., ii. 270.)

of the books distributed by the missionaries in the East, he adduces 'Luther and his Times' "as one of many like mischievous books issued from the Malta press, now happily abandoned, or in better hands than formerly." (p. 469.) But though Mr. Williams is thus averse to the Protestant missions, he speaks in other terms of the labours of the Jesuits, (p. 465,) though he laments the schism which they introduced into the orthodox Greek church.

Nor are his views changed at the time of publishing his Second Edition. Speaking of the labours of Bishop Gobat, he gives a copy of the prelate's encouraging Report to the Home Society, of the conversion of many of the native Christians to the Protestant faith, the establishment of schools, &c. on which he observes—"A sad state of things . . . who can bid it God speed?" (ii. 617.)

As for the "American and European missionaries," he endeavours to rid himself of them altogether, as David did of Uriah, by tauntingly advising them to leave their present field, and go among savages, in order to earn for themselves a martyr's crown! (ii. 597.)

It has been necessary to give the preceding extracts that the reader may understand the principles by which Mr. Williams is actuated as an author. With one imbued with such sentiments, with one who, being a minister of the Church of England, "felt it a pleasure to sojourn, and a privilege to suffer in the house of Saint Veronica," (p. 307,) the writer of this notice can feel no sympathy. But in order to form a just estimate of the value of Mr. Williams's arguments and opinions on matter-of-fact questions of topography, we must further see how little likely he is to be led aside by 'old wives' fables.'

"It is *interesting*," (he says) "whatever be the value of the tradition, to be shewn the tomb of Melchizedek, the place where Abraham offered up Isaac, and the tree which occupies the spot where the ram was caught in a thicket by its horns: it serves at least to bring these transactions most vividly before the mind, and to give a *vitality* (!) to the Sacred History," &c. (*Holy City*, p. 3.)

After recounting a tradition of the Jews, that the 'Ark of

the Covenant,' with its holy contents, is miraculously preserved in a secret chamber of most difficult access, prepared by Solomon in the sacred rock, within the mosque at Jerusalem,—a tradition which is reported by the Crusaders, but who incline to believe that it was buried by Jeremiah, in a cave under Mount Nebo, —Mr. Williams remarks—

"However unsatisfactory these accounts may appear, it is surely a *matter of no little interest, and it is every way probable*, that He who had honoured it as the seat of his glory for so many centuries, would preserve it from such desecration as it must have undergone, had it fallen into the hands of the Chaldeans." (p. 47.)

The miracle of Narcissus, who poured water into the lamps of his church on one of the Vigils of the Feast of Easter, and it was by a miraculous and Divine power, changed into the fatness of oil, being one of the miracles accepted by Mr. Newman, is naturally related by Mr. Williams, who adds:

"Another *scarcely less remarkable* story related of this Bishop would prove that he was under the especial protection of his Divine Master." The story is, that three men having slandered him, and prayed that some grievous evil might overtake them if they spoke falsely,—the first was consumed by fire, the second was wasted with some loathsome disease, and the third wept himself blind. (p. 152.)

"The story of the luminous cross which is said to have appeared in the heavens in the time of S. Cyril, is too *interesting* to be passed over in silence, and too *well authenticated* to be rejected as fabulous." (p. 177.)

In speaking of the traditionary sites of the sepulchre, Mr. Williams says:

"They may still be not without their use to one who is more intent on turning to good account a visit to these sacred scenes, than disposed to ridicule and despise feelings which he cannot understand or appreciate. The same may be said of other traditionary sites in and about the Holy City." (*H. C.*, p. 307.)*

* The following are some of the traditionary sites referred to in Mr. Williams's work, and which furnish materials "to turn to good account."

The cave of S. James; the cave of S. Peter, where he wept bitterly; the cave where the lion assisted to bury the corpses of the Christians slain by the Persians and Jews in the invasion of Chosroes II; the crypt where Solomon tormented the dæmons; the chamber in which Solomon wrote the Book of Wisdom; the house of Hezekiah; the house of Caiaphas; the house of Simon

"I grudge not those their faith, the credulous train,
 Who tread the path enthusiasts trod before,
 Dupes of the convent's legendary strain
 For pious Helena forged in days of yore;
 Who fix each spot, each fancied site explore
 Of every deed in Scriptural annals read:—
 'Tis thus, when life's pulsation beats no more,
 Misjudging friends o'er wasted features spread
 Imposture's mask to cheat the mourners for the dead."

*The Pilgrimage, xx.**

Atque aliqua ex illis quum Regum nomina quæret
 Quæ loca, qui montes, quæve ferantur aquæ;
 • Omnia responde; nec tantum si qua rogabit;
 Et quæ nescieris, ut bene nota, refer.

(Ovid. *Art. Amat.* i. 219-222.)

These quotations are enough; and we may therefore imagine the zeal with which the author would endeavour to repel the aspersions cast upon the 'Catholic' church, which if proved, would, as he admits, convict her rulers of "flagrant wickedness." (p. 312.) We pass on to notice some of his arguments.

He endeavours to explain the silence of Eusebius as to several particulars afterwards gradually engrafted on his original narrative by Sozomen, Theodoret, and others, each furnishing his quota towards that tradition which was becoming the treasury of the church, by the assertion that—

"They were quite as well informed as we can be as to what Eusebius had written on the subject, and they were following his narrative; therefore it is highly improbable they would venture, under any circumstances, to contradict his statements, or even to make any important additions without some sufficient warrant; for *they* were not so very far removed from the time of these

the Pharisee; the house of St. Anne, and the birth-place of the Virgin Mary; the postern of the good thief; the retreat of the apostles; the place of the Tower of Temptation; the place of the chief corner-stone; the shoe-marks on the pavement of the temple of the soldiers who slew Zachariah; our Lord's footmark when he stood before Pilate; the place where the friends of our Lord stood afar off; and the prison in which our Lord was detained while the preparations were making for his crucifixion.

* Lord Francis Egerton.

transactions as to render it impossible for *them* to recover from other quarters some particulars which the earlier writer had failed to record."*

It will have been seen that Dr. Robinson has adduced as one of the reasons why it is probable that the site of the so-called Church of the Holy Sepulchre was included within the walls, the proximity of the 'Pool of Hezekiah,' founding his opinion both on the Bible and on tradition. It could not be supposed that Dr. Robinson would be allowed thus quietly to trespass upon the peculiar property of his opponents. Mr. Newman, who would have considered *tradition* sufficient to demonstrate the truth of any legend he might have himself brought forward, most innocently accuses Dr. Robinson of having no other evidence than tradition. Mr. Williams on the other hand laughs at the idea of his traditional evidence mounting up no higher than to the beginning of the seventeenth century, (p. 270), though he is unable to bring forward any counter-tradition of earlier date to oppose to it. Subsequently, however, we find a lengthened and an ingenious attempt to substitute another 'Pool of Hezekiah,' and that "from Scripture alone," (without tradition !)

The circumstance whether the pool in question be or not the 'pool of Hezekiah' is of considerable importance as affecting the authenticity of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: not indeed that the rejection of this pool would prejudice the arguments of those who object to the site of the sepulchre; but, as acknowledged by Mr. Williams, (p. 269,) "the pool . . . if rightly placed . . . would bring that part of the modern city, and so the Holy Sepulchre, within the ancient walls." † Hence the labour and study with which he seeks to disprove the position.

* The words in *italics* refer to Mr. Newman's argument relative to the comparative weight of opinions in the third and the nineteenth centuries. See *ante*, p. 332.

† "If the Pool of Hezekiah was included, I am equally ready to admit the ground in question must have been within the second wall, and could not have been the real place of the Holy Sepulchre." (Lord Nugent, *Lands Classical and Sacred*, p. 31.)

He begins by changing Dr. Robinson's Acra and Bezetha, and converting the Asamonæan valley of Dr. Robinson into the Tyropœon,* thus making it run up towards the 'Gate of Ephraim.' Outside of this gate he supposes to have once existed the 'Upper Pool,' the water of which he conducts along his Tyropœon to the Pool of Siloam, which he makes the 'Lower Pool.' (p. 400.) It is necessary here to examine the passages relating to these pools, more especially as they are admitted by Mr. Williams to refer, one and all, to the 'Pool of Hezekiah.' (p. 393, 394, and note 2.)†

"Hezekiah also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the *west side* of the city of David." (2 Chron. xxxii. 2, 3, 4, 30.) "He made a pool and a conduit, and brought water *into* the city." (2 Kings, xx. 20.) "He fortified his city, and brought in water into the midst thereof; he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters." (Eccles. xlviii. 17.) "Ye gathered together the *waters of the lower pool* . . . ye made a ditch (reservoir) *between the two walls* for the water of the old pool." (Isaiah, xxii. 9, 11.)

"When Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was come . . . he took counsel with his princes and his mighty men to stop the waters of the fountains which were without the city, and they . . . stopped all the fountains, and the brook that ran through the midst of the land, saying, why should the Kings of Assyria come, and find much water?"

Mr. Williams thinks that he complies with all the requirements of these particulars, by making the 'Pool of Siloam' identical with the 'Lower Pool,' the 'King's Pool,' and the 'Pool of Hezekiah.' (p. 400.) He supports this opinion by coupling together two texts.—On the capture of the city by Nebuchadnezzar, the Jews "fled by night, by the way of the gate *between two walls*, which is by the King's garden." (2 Kings, xxv. 4; Jerem. xxxix. 4, lii. 7.) "The gate of the fountain repaired Shallun, and the wall of the Pool of Siloah, by the King's garden." (Neh. iii. 15.) The first objection that arises to this argument is the difficulty Mr. Williams would experience, and which I see he has prudently avoided, of laying down the situation of the gates upon his plan. Supposing, as he does,

* See his plan, p. 339. † This is denied in the second edition. (See ii. 491.)

that the Ephraim gate is identical with the Valley gate, how is it possible for him to work his way round to the Pool of Siloam? (Compare Neh. iii. 13-15.) Again, Hezekiah is reported as having brought water *into* the city, but Mr. Williams carries it *through* the city, into a pool exactly opposite and outside,* and therefore liable to the same objection as formerly. In the next place, though by making Bezetha give way to Acra, he has carried the latter quarter of the city more eastward, yet is he not able to comply with the Sacred text, for the water channel of his Tyropæon intersects the city from north to south, instead of entering it on its western side. In order to give colour to this translation of the different quarters of the city, he represents Josephus as saying that the *lower* city lay over against the Temple in the manner of a theatre; but on referring to the passage, (*Ant.* xv. 11, § 5,) we find Josephus states that the *whole* "city (not lower city) lay over against the Temple, in the manner of a theatre:"† and let Mr. Williams take heed how he venture to interpret the passage as having reference to Acra, or the lower city, lest his Tyropæon be in danger: for Josephus immediately adds, "and (the city) was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire *south* quarter." Again, by misinterpreting the passage in Isaiah, he makes it appear that Hezekiah collected together the waters *into* the 'lower pool', instead of *from* the lower pool. This is evident from a consideration of the circumstances. The waters of the valley of Gihon were collected first in the 'upper pool', and from thence by locks and conduits, they descended to the 'lower pool.' These were outside the city; and, on the approach of the Assyrians, Hezekiah resolved to divert the water from the upper pool into a new reservoir within the city.‡ instead of

* Villalpandus states that there were two pools of Siloam: one on the south of the city, the other, identical with Gihon, on the north-west. (*Apparatus*, pp. 190, 191.) See also Bachiene, *Palästina*, vol. ii. § 154.

† Ἀντικρὺν ἢ Πόλιν ἔκειτο τοῦ Ἱεροῦ θεατροειδὴς οὐσα.

‡ Speaking of the upper Pool in the valley of Gihon, Dr. Robinson states that "in the winter season it becomes full; and its waters are then conducted,

allowing it to flow into the *old* reservoir of the lower pool. And lastly, the 'upper pool of Gihon,' from which he starts, cannot be placed in the position he supposes. If any other

by a small rude aqueduct or channel, to the vicinity of the Jaffa Gate, and so to the Pool of Hezekiah within the city." (i. 352.) It is probable that the ancient conduit by which Hezekiah supplied his pool, lays beneath the surface of the ground, and that the rude aqueduct here spoken of is of recent date. Antoninus of Placenza (A.D. 600) records that, "on putting the ear to the ground, on the side of Golgotha, you will hear the sound of running water." Old authors affirm that the fountain of the upper Pool flowed by the place of Golgotha. (Reusner, *Alten Jerus.*, fol. lxvii.; Korte, *Reise*, p. 183.) After speaking of the aqueduct which supplies the *Piscina del Calvario* (Pool of Hezekiah) from the Upper Pool, and which passes beneath the wall, Mariti says there are no traces of this aqueduct within the city, but "quanto poi ai condotti che possono essere sotto la città, crederei che questi fossero nella maggior parte scavati nella rocca, anche all' altezza di un uomo, giacchè tali esempj non mancano in quelle parti." (Gio. Mariti, *Istoria dello stato presente della città di Gerusalemme*, Livorno, 1790, i. 196.) That several conduits lie concealed beneath the present surface of the city, would appear from the discovery made on digging for the foundations of the Protestant church on Mount Zion. At a depth of about thirty-five feet they came upon "an immense conduit, partly hewn out of the solid rock; and where this was not the case, it was solidly built in even courses, and cemented on the face with a hard coating of cement, about one inch thick, and was covered over with large stones." Its course lay east and west. After tracing two hundred feet of it towards the east, and describing a chamber connected with it, the architect, Mr. Johns, states: "There is no doubt on my own mind that they have been used for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants with pure water; and this is proved by there being several apertures opening from the streets at distant intervals; the aqueduct was nearly level, the fall being so slight as to allow the water to remain level, so that by means of a line and bucket water could be procured at any time." (Bartlett, *Walks about Jerus.*, pp. 89, 90.) Notwithstanding, or rather in opposition to, this evidence, Mr. Williams calls it a *sewer*, (ii. 44.) in the hope of thereby creating an argument against the Tyropæon. "For surely had there been 'a narrow ravine immediately under the north brow of Sion, serving as a drain for the waters falling on the adjacent part of Sion, and also for those on the southern declivity of the ridge,' *Bibl. Sacr.*, iii. 419, this *cloaca maxima* would have followed that natural course, to the saving of considerable labour and expense." (*H. C.*, ii. 32.) Although these names were known long before the subject became a controversy, Mr. Williams says "Upper Pool", "Lower Pool", "Gihon", "they are all quite recent names"; and, accordingly, he gives to the pool the name of Mamillah, or Babila, a supposed saint of the Christian era. (*Suppl.*, pp. 65, 66.) [Owing to

argument were necessary to prove this, it would be the hill of Gihon, the name of which, Dr. Robinson says, tradition has appropriated to the hill on which the supposed Holy Sepulchre stands, though the Professor himself disbelieved it, asserting—“There is no trace of any hill so named in Scripture, or other ancient history. The name of Gihon, as applied to this ridge, seems to be first mentioned by Brocardus, about A.D. 1283.” This, however, is an oversight: Manasseh, we are informed in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, “built a wall *without* the city of David, on the *west* side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in of the ‘Fish Gate.’” This passage, which I think very important, seems to prove, both from the retention of the name of Gihon,*

Owing to neglect, the subterranean aqueduct which supplies the Pool of Hezekiah is become obstructed, so that whereas in 1600 the pool was so full that there were only thirteen steps above the water, you now have to descend (in 1767) by forty-seven. This pool supplied the pool of Bethesda, and the other pools of the city. (Mariti, *Istoria*, i. 207, 208.) Mr. Williams speaks of the pool as not exhibiting ancient workmanship; but Mariti says of it, “Era la medesima in parte una grotta naturale, alla quale aveva supplito l’arte con una grandiosa fabbrica.” (i. 204, 205.)

* The “Latin Convent is thought to have been on Mount Gihon.” (Pococke, *Descript. of the East*, vol. ii. Pt. i. pp. 10, 15, 28.) “Ascending a part of Mount Gihon, we came to the Monastery of the Franciscans.” (Geo. Sandys, *Relation of a Journey begun A.D. 1610*, pp. 158 and 160.) “Il y en a une partie dedans, et l’autre dehors, beaucoup plus grande.” (M. J. D(oubdan), *Voyage de la Terre Sainte*, 1657, p. 107.) “La città e situata sopra i monti celebri Sion, et Moria, sopra l’Acri, e una parte di Gion.” (F. S. Mantegazzo, *Relaz. del Viaggio di Gierusal.* Milan, 1616, p. 213.) The Jesuit Besson also makes Gihon one of the hills within the city. (*La Syrie Sainte*, ii. 66, 80.) “It is a broad hill or swell of land rising somewhat higher than the north-west part of the city itself.” (Robinson, *Bibl. Res.*, i. 353.) Indeed, the ground in question is the highest in the city, and therefore the least likely to have been excluded. “The highest part of the city is a little west of the Jaffa Gate, at the point where the wall leaves the top of the hill near Gihon, and runs,” etc. (Rev. J. D. Paxton, *Letters on Palestine*, 1839, p. 114.) A broad ridge or swell of land which lies north of the basin at the head of the valley of Hinnom, and extends down into the city, forming its north-west part. Indeed the north-west corner of the city wall is directly on this ridge, from which spot the wall descends immediately towards the north-east, and also, though less rapidly, towards the south-east. (*Id.*, p. 391.) The “lower extremity is more steep and rocky than the higher

from the relative position of the gates as recorded in the third chapter of Nehemiah, and from the precise details of the verse itself, referring, as it does, to several particulars, that the *hill upon which the so-called Holy Sepulchre now stands was inclosed by a double wall, even previously to the time of Nehemiah.*

The following is an abstract of Mr. Williams's line of argument in proof of the northerly position of the Upper Pool:—

The 'Damascus Gate' is considered to be the same as the 'Gate of Ephraim.'

The Gate of Ephraim appears to be identical with the 'Valley Gate.'

But the Valley Gate was before the 'Dragon Well.'

Now the Dragon Well may be the same as the 'Serpent's Pool,'

And the Serpent's Pool was close to the 'Monuments of Herod;'

While the Monuments of Herod lay on one side of the 'Camp of the Assyrians,'

And on the other side of the Camp of the Assyrians lay the 'Fuller's Monument.'

But the Fuller's Monument may have been in the 'Fuller's Field,'

And the Fuller's Field was near to the 'Upper Pool.'

"Thus then is the 'Upper Pool' of Isaiah identified with the 'Dragon Well' of Nehemiah."

But the Assyrian host once stood by the 'Conduit of the Upper Pool,'

Which may therefore be imagined to denote the 'Camp of the Assyrians.'

Now the Assyrian Camp was at Bezetha, to the north-east of the new city,

Therefore the Upper Pool of Isaiah was at the north-east of the city:

And therefore the Upper Pool was near to the Damascus Gate.

Q. e. d. (*Holy City*, p. 391-393.)

We have already seen that some of these postulates are untenable. Another faulty link in the chain is the supposed identity of the Valley Gate and the Gate of Ephraim,* a position which

portions." (*Bibl. Sacr.*, i. 189.) Schultz agrees in placing it in the Christian quarter of the present city, "a rocky projection or promontory setting in from the west." (*Jerus.* p. 96.) Führer, (*Itinerarium*), C. J. Offerhaus, (*Exercit. Philol. vel. Hieros.*) Bernardino Amico, (pl. of *Jerus.*, pl. 43,) I. Berggren, (*Voy. en Orient*), and Leeman, (*Palästina*), all place it on the north-west of the city. Other writers make it situate on the west of the city: indeed, Mr. Williams is the only writer who has sought to give it a different locality.

* In his second edition, Mr. Williams supposes the Valley Gate to be on the east of the city, afterwards on the south, and then on the east, (*post*, pp. 421, 422.) The Gate of Ephraim, which was right in the first edition, he changes, in the second, to the western wall. (Vol. i. Suppl., p. 114.) Thus we see every link broken in this preposterous chain of reasoning.

is quite irreconcilable with Neh. iii. and xii. as I shall be prepared to show when I come to speak of the Gates of the City.

Though it would appear from Josephus (*Bell.* v. 4, § 2; and 12, § 2.), that the 'Camp of the Assyrians' was near the Fuller's monument, and, therefore, at the north-east of the city, it equally appears, from v. 7 § 3; and 12 § 2, that a considerable distance from Kidron intervened: "That place which was called the 'Camp of the Assyrians', having seized upon all that lay as far as Kidron."—"Titus began the wall from the Camp of the Assyrians . . . and drew it down to the lower parts of Cœnopolis." There is nothing, therefore, to contradict the supposition, that the Assyrian camp, under Rabshakeh,* extended from the Upper Pool of Gihon down to the eastern side of Bezetha overlooking Kidron. Indeed, we are told, that Titus formed his camp in that place where the camp of the Assyrians had been, (7 § 3,) and in 4 § 3 we are told, that Titus's camp was at the north-west corner. Previous to taking the Third Wall, Titus encamped over against, and on the outside of Psephinus (3 § 5, and 4 § 2,) and from the passages already cited, it is evident, that on taking the Third Wall, he fixed his camp immediately inside the place of his former encampment, the position of which being close to Psephinus, was naturally chosen from its "affording, at sunrise, a prospect of Arabia, and of the Hebrew territories as far as the sea."† (*Id.* 4 § 3.)

This subject naturally leads us to the further consideration of the Valley of the Tyropœon, which is another point in the topography of Jerusalem which Mr. Williams strives to set aside, in order to protect the foundations of the 'holy sepulchre.'‡ The motive with which Mr. Williams attacks the statements of the learned Professor is only too evident throughout the volume.

* Sennacherib approached the city in an opposite direction.

† That the 'Fuller's Field' was supposed, even in the middle ages, to be in this locality, appears from Adamnanus, (*Theatrum Terra Sanctæ*, i. 1,) who places the "Porta Villæ Fullonis" on the west side of the city.

‡ It cannot be too clearly stated, that it is Mr. Williams, not Dr. Robinson, who seeks to change the position of Gihon, and the Tyropœon.

In the instance before us, he *exposes* Dr. Robinson for having described the north wall of Zion as being above the valley of the Tyropæon: "But this," he observes, "is an assumption without any warrant from Josephus; who says not a word of a *valley*, and never in any one passage hints at the Tyropæon being near the Hippicus;" but, curiously enough, in the preceding and opposite page he considers it necessary to "remind the reader that Acra was the hill sustaining the lower city, *separated* from Zion, or the much higher hill which contained the upper city, *by the valley of the Tyropæon*;" and three pages after, Mr. Williams, quoting Josephus, says, the ancient city "lay upon two hills, over against each other, *separated by an intervening valley*, at which the houses terminated;" and in p. 104, he says, "The city occupied two hills separated by a valley, called by Josephus the Tyropæon." But should it be said, that the force of Mr. Williams's objection is in the supposed circumstance that the Tyropæon does not extend *along the north* side of Mount Zion (which, however, we know from other passages that it did), but that it ran along the eastern side, I would ask, how then does he define the hill of Acra? As shewn in his plan,* it lay on each side of the Tyropæon; if so, the Tyropæon does not, as described by Josephus, divide Acra from Sion. If, however, he should place it on the eastern side of that valley, then Acra would be to the east instead of the north, and entirely apart from Sion, and the Tyropæon could only be spoken of as dividing Sion from Moriah. But, in order to show the full absurdity of Mr. Williams's proposition, we will examine where he places the line of his Asamonæan valley. "I think that the traces of it remain to this day clearly visible, in a ridge which slopes down from the traditionary site of the house of Herod to the outer inclosure of the mosque, and which is crossed by the 'Via Dolorosa,' as it approaches the Seraglio, or house of Pilate."† (p. 280.) Fortunately, we discover the 'house of

* See p. 339.

† This is followed by an equally absurd refutation of Dr. Robinson's Bezetha, which it is not necessary to notice here, as I purpose offering a different inter-

Herod' in Catherwood's plan of the monkish sites of Jerusalem. (Dr. Olin's Travels, vol. ii.) It is immediately in a line with the 'Cave of Jeremiah' and the Tombs of the Kings. If, therefore, we draw this line, we have the limitation of Acra on one side, as the Tyropæon forms it on the other; and we thus find his Acra restricted to 450 feet at its greatest width; or equal to half the width of the temple,* while one-half of even this space was covered with Antonia. That one of the pieces which I have called 'No-man's land' is discarded by Mr. Williams, is evident, for he says, "what Dr. Robinson calls Bezetha, is the Acra of Josephus." (*H. C.* ii. 40.) In this case, also, it would be impossible to understand how "the corresponding rows of houses on both hills end" at the valley of the Tyropæon.

But Mr. Williams further objects that the Professor's Valley of the Tyropæon† cannot be that valley, because there is now no valley there; and that his Asmonæan Valley‡ being a valley, cannot be the Asmonæan Valley, for that was filled up by the Asmonæan princes. But it is contended on the other side, that though Josephus describes the Asmonæan Valley as having been filled up, his manner of so doing might induce us to imagine that he is describing the object and intention rather than the result. It is quite clear that they commenced the work, but it is not equally clear that they completed it. Dr. Robinson, indeed, describes "all the western entrances of the mosque as being reached by an ascent, and some of them at least by steps."§ As for the Tyropæon, Dr. Robinson describes its present state with great minuteness,|| clearly showing that the valley is still

pretation of the passage referred to; but whether this be true or false, it does not lessen the absurdity of Mr. Williams appealing to this mound as connecting Bezetha with *Moriah*!

* See his plan of Jerusalem, *ante*, p. 339.

† See *post*, p. 363, Prop. i.

‡ The valley running from the Gate of Ephraim. § *Bibl. Res.*, i. 394.

|| He first describes the rise of ground from the Tyropæon southwards towards Zion, (p. 388,) but as this is acknowledged by all, we will refer only to what he says respecting the northern bank. "The Tyropæon commences, as a shallow depression, near the Yaffa Gate. When one enters this gate and takes

perceptible.* Mr. Williams flatly denies this, and their statements are so contradictory, that, in the absence of further evidence, I must be excused if I accept the Professor's testimony. But, even if there were now no inequality of ground, the wonderful alterations in the soil which have taken place in the lapse of nearly twenty centuries, (in many parts amounting to a difference of *forty* feet in height,)† would render it not at all surprising that, with the vicissitudes and sieges which the city has undergone, the northern brow of Zion, which was originally thirty cubits in height, and crowned with lofty towers, should, on its dismantlement, have fallen down and filled up the vallum or fosse beneath. Thus then we see that the city of Jebus, like the subsequent Jerusalem, consisted of an upper and a lower city; the former serving as an acropolis to the habitable city beneath. It was probably the lower city which the men of Benjamin conquered, but these were dislodged again by the Jebusites, who appear to have retreated to the upper city or acropolis, which fortress being subsequently taken by David, the city ever after remained in the possession of the Jews.‡

the first street leading northward, he has before him, at first, a *considerable ascent* . . . in the (second) street leading northward, below the Pool of Hezekiah, and also in that along the Bazaars (the third) this ascent is less perceptible." (*Bibl. Res.*, i. 391.) One of the streets is nearly level, but it is arched over, and is believed to be let into the crest of the hill. (*See Bib. Sacr.*, iii. p. 429.) This has lately been ascertained to be the fact. See *post*, p. 370.

* Dr. Aiton, desirous of satisfying his mind that Calvary stood on a mount, (the very worst evidence he could possibly have obtained for the truth of the sepulchre,) reports the observation of a monk who addressed him with, "Don't you see, sir, how steep every one of these streets are which lead to Calvary?" "and this was an undoubted fact." *Lands of the Messiah, Mahomet, and the Pope*, p. 197.

† How strikingly does this illustrate the prophecy of Micah, (iii. 12,) "Jerusalem shall become heaps."

‡ In the description of this event, we are told that "David took the stronghold of Zion: the same is the city of David." (II Sam. v. 7.) There is, however, another passage of Scripture which is apparently at variance with this, and which has occasioned great difficulty to commentators: "Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion: on the sides of the north

Mr. Williams's book abounds in every page with imputations of "dishonesty," "want of candour," "unfairness," etc. on the part of Dr. Robinson; but in the instances alleged the exaggeration and dishonesty are never on the part of Dr. Robinson. Thus, in p. 267, after accusing the Professor of "mistranslating Josephus in order to avoid the obvious difficulty," "omitting" one word, and "inserting" another, adding—"Is this honest?" Mr. Williams goes on to say—"I never could find any traces of the valley which Dr. Robinson calls the Tyropœon; that which separated between Zion and Acra. Indeed he himself seems to have had some difficulty in doing so; his first attempt was altogether unsuccessful:" and he refers in a note to *Bib. Res.*, i. 353. On examining this reference it will be found, that Dr. Robinson having satisfied his mind as to the position of the Tyropœon, but, being desirous of ascertaining whether any trace of the continuation of a valley existed in any other situation *outside the city*, which might possibly be considered by others to lay claim to this designation, "returned across the higher ground on the north of the Upper Pool, towards the Damascus Gate, in order to examine whether perhaps the valley of the Tyropœon extended up at all *beyond the city* in that direction. There is, however, no trace of any valley, or of any depression, in this quarter, before reaching the declivity stretching down to the Damascus Gate."*

(is) the city of the great king." (Ps. xlviii. 2.) The difficulty may be explained either by considering that "David dwelt in the fort, and called it the City of David," (II Sam. v. 9,) and that on the north side of this lay the city of the great king, and which had, for some time, been in the occupation of the men of Judah:—or we may explain it by a passage in the prophecy of Isaiah, (xiv. 13,) in which Lucifer is described as desiring to "sit upon the mount of the congregation, (Mount Zion), in the sides of the north," where it is evident that the lower city north of Zion could not be referred to, and therefore that the northern part of Zion is here signified. Josephus, in narrating the same circumstances, clearly calls the whole of the city by the name of David. (*Ant.*, vii. 3 § 2.)

* The east and westerly direction of the Tyropœon is insisted on by Bachiene, Reisner, Bernardin Surius, Sandys, Dr. Arnold, and in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyclopædie*. Mariti calls it a portion of the valley of Gihon. "Ai tempi nostri parte della valle di Gihon, cioè quella che passava presso la Porta Giudiciaria, resta dentro la città, ma vedesi ripiena." (*Historia presente di Gerus.* i. 8.)

In order to bring the church of the 'Holy Sepulchre' outside of the ancient walls, Mr. Williams endeavours to assign the greatest possible eastern extension to the gate Gennath. It will be seen, by referring to the *Biblical Researches*, that the northern cliffs of Mount Zion are of least altitude on their western extremity, near to the tower Hippicus;* but that from this point eastward, they increased in height owing to the fall of the Tyropœon. But Mr. Williams, in describing these cliffs, leads us to imply, that the valley fell rapidly towards the west: (!) seemingly as if to make his readers believe that the situation which he has assigned to Gennath, is more in accordance with the nature of the ground. Thus—"the absurdity of supposing an exit for a city gate . . . down a precipice of thirty feet is obvious." "The cliff below, which would probably continue (eastward) some further distance;" etc. (p. 261—263;) and it is not till twenty pages afterwards (285, 286) that he explains this anomaly, by describing a dip in the hill of Zion, through the centre of the Jews' quarter, near which he supposes to have stood the gate Gennath, supporting the conjecture by the tradition of a gate, "through which St. Peter passed to the house of St. Mark," (!) So far from disputing that a gate may have existed in this locality, I conceive that there were several gateways between the upper and the lower cities. (Josephus, *Bell.* v. 8, § 1.) Psalmanazar considers that the 'Middle Gate' (of Jeremiah xxxix. 3) belonged to this spot.†

Mr. Williams further objects to "the absurdity of supposing an exit for a city-gate through such a royal palace;" but instances are too common, both in ancient and modern times, of such arrangement.‡ Many of the palaces of Europe have public thoroughfares through their courts, and we need only to call to mind the general custom of the East of administering justice

* See also, Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, p. 435; and Adrichomius, *Theatr. Terra Sanctæ*, p. 167 b.

† *Univ. Anc. Hist.*, iv. p. 229.

‡ See several instances in Burder's *Oriental Customs*, and Paxton's *Illustrations of Scripture*.

in the gate in ancient times, to feel that the erection of a palace in such a spot would be no impropriety. It will, moreover, be recollected that Jezebel's palace was over the gate of Jezreel. (2 Kings, ix. 30, 31.) See also Judges v. 28.

But Mr. Williams says that *remains* of the second wall exist in the situation which he has described.* These remains consist of the pier of a gateway, the crown of a circular arch, a colonnade of four or five columns, 10 feet apart, and the spring course of an arch. (pp. 286, 287, 2nd edit. Suppl. 83.) The circumstance of a colonnade being in his supposed line of city wall, is alone sufficient to disprove the fact, and, in ii. 56-58, the colonnade is omitted. The remains are shewn by Mr. Whiting to be portions of the palace of the Knights of St. John. (*Bibl. Sac.* v. 96.) The spring course of an arch, Dr. Wilson shews to have formed part of a vault;† and, indeed, Herren Krafft and Wolff,‡ who support the position of the present sepulchre, reject the antiquity of these remains. Dr. Tobler also is said to reject them.§

VIII. *Jerusalem.* Dublin University Magazine, Sept. 1845.

This able article, which formed a review of Mr. Williams's book, has been unanswered,|| and it is therefore only due to its talented writer to recapitulate some of the evidence there brought forward. Happily enough, the witness, whom he discovered, was a fellow-countryman, and it was thus that he was enabled at the same time to do honour to his mother-land, and to assist by unexceptionable evidence in the establishment of the truth. Arculfus, a French bishop, after making a pilgrimage

* See also, Lord Nugent, *Lands Classical and Sacred*, pp. 36-39.

† *Lands of the Bible*, p. 437.

‡ *Reise in das Gelobten Lande*, s. 81. See also *Bibl. Sac.* iii. 452-461. Mr. Woodcock observes, that "a personal examination of the details of the streets of Jerusalem shows, not only in the lines mentioned, but almost everywhere, evidences of masonry as ancient and massive as that which he selects." *Script. Lands*, p. 159.

§ *Golgotha, seine Kirchen und Klostern*, s. 310.

|| See page 372.

to the Holy Land, about the year 695, was shipwrecked on the island of Iona, in the west of Scotland. Here he was received by Adamnanus, who was then Abbot, to whom he recounted the particulars of the holy places which he had visited. These details Adamnanus committed to writing, and obtained from the bishop a ground plan of the sacred buildings.

"We made diligent inquiry of holy Arculfus, but especially as to the sepulchre of our Lord, and the church erected over the same, the plan of which he also drew for me on a waxed tablet; which church is all of stone, of great size, rising with three concentric walls all round from the foundation upwards, having a broad aisle betwixt each pair of walls, and three altars curiously contrived in three places in the midmost wall. Twelve columns of wonderful size sustain this round church. There are eight entrances—four to the north-east, and four to the south-east. In the centre space of this inner round church is a *circular vault* cut all out of one and the same rock*, wherein three three-times-three men can stand and pray, and from the top of the head of a man of moderate stature, standing up, to the vault of that little house,† is a foot and a half in measure. The entrance to this little vault‡ looks to the east, and on the outside it is wholly encrusted with choice marble, and sustains upon the top a large golden cross. In the northern part of this vault, in the inside, is the tomb§ of our Lord, *cut out of the same rock*" (as the vault itself); "but the floor of the vault is lower than the place of the tomb; for from the margin to the side of the tomb is a space of about three handsbreadth in height. This, Arculfus, who often frequented the tomb of our Lord, and who accurately measured it, informed me. Here it is fit to notice the difference between what is called the monument"|| (or sepulchre) "and the tomb; for that so often mentioned round vault is what the evangelists, by another name, call the sepulchre, from the mouth whereof they describe the stone as rolled back when our Lord arose. But the tomb is properly that place in the vault, that is to say, in the northern part of the sepulchre in which the body of our Lord, wrapped in linen grave-clothes, lay buried: the length whereof" (the tomb or soros) "Arculf measured with his proper hand, to seven feet in measure. Which said tomb is not, as many falsely allege, double, and having as it were a partition cut out of the same stone, dividing and separating the two legs and two thighs, but is all plain from the head to the feet, affording a bed large enough for one man lying on his back, having its entrance, like the opening of a cave,¶ in the side,

* Tegurium. (Tegurium.) A circular vaulted inclosure. (Crates eriguntur inter se acclives testudineato testo, more tuguriorum. *Virg. Eccl.*, 69.) Faciolati, *Lexicon*.

† Domuncula.

‡ Teguriolum.

§ Sepulchrum.

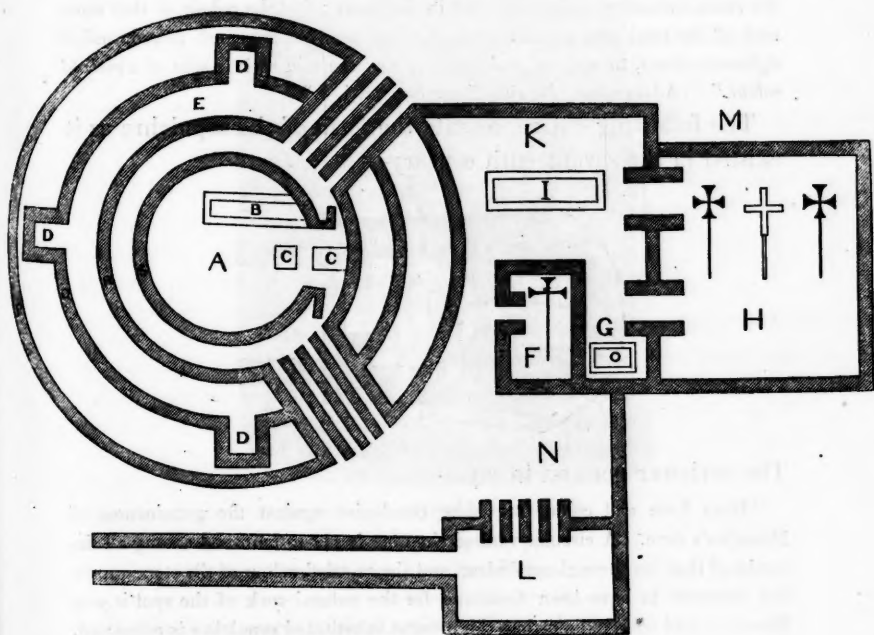
|| Monumentum.

¶ Spelunca.

looking towards the south side of the tomb, and a low lid wrought into a projection above . . .

"The accompanying picture shews the form of the above-mentioned round church, with the *round vault* (*rotundum tegurium*) situated within it." (Lib. i. cap. ii.)

"The stone door of the sepulchre, Arculf describes as divided into two parts, whereof the smaller part is wrought with iron tools, and is seen standing in the



Plan of the "Holy Sepulchre," as sketched by Arculfus, in 605.

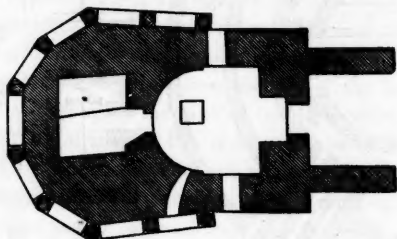
- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| A. Tegurium Rotandum. | H. In quo loco crux Dominica cum binis latronum crucibus sub terra reperta est. |
| B. Sepulchrum Domini. | I. Mensa lignea. |
| C. Altaria Dualia. | K. Platea in qua die et nocte lampades ardent. |
| D. Altaria. | L. Sanctae Mariae Ecclesia. |
| E. Ecclesia. | M. Constantiana Basilica, hoc est Martyrium. |
| F. Golgothana Ecclesia. | N. Exhedra, cum calice Domini. |
| G. In loco Altaris Abraham. | |
| P. The outer Colonnade. | |
| Q. The wall of the Church. | |
| R. The inner Colonnade. | |
| S. The Sepulchre. | |

} These letters are not indicated by Arculfus.

manner of a square altar, in the said round church, before the door of the above-mentioned vault or sepulchre of our Lord; but the greater part of the same stone is also tooled round in like manner, and forms the altar under the

grave-clothes, which is in the east part of the church. But as to the colour of that rock, out of which that often mentioned vault has been hollowed by the irons of the stone-cutters, and which has our Lord's tomb in its northern part, cut out of one and the same rock, and which is the sepulchre, that is to say the vault, above-mentioned, Arculf, in answer to my inquiries, told me that that edifice of our Lord's sepulchre, not being covered with any decoration inside, even to this day, shews throughout the whole of its cavity the tracks of the tools which the stone-cutters or excavators used in that work; but the colour of that same rock of the tomb and sepulchre was not uniform, but appeared mixed, and of different colours, to wit, red and white, so that the said rock is seen of a piebald colour." (Adamnanus, *De situ Terræ Sanctæ*, i. 3.)

The following cut represents the form of the sepulchre as it existed in the seventeenth century—



The reviewer goes on to say—

"Here form and colour are alike conclusive against the genuineness of Macarius's cave. A circular vaulted chamber is not to be found among all the tombs of that era throughout Judea; and the mottled colour of the stone proves the structure to have been factitious, for the natural rock of the spot is grey limestone, and of grey limestone the present substituted sepulchre is composed. We say substituted, . . . for the present sepulchre has not even the credit of being the original fabrication.

While the form and colour alone of the cave of Macarius testify to its spuriousness, the modern cave is convicted by its form, by the colour of its material, by its size, and its site, all together. It is square, Macarius's was round; it is a square of 6 feet 9 inches;* Macarius's was a circle of about 12 feet in diameter; it is open at top, Macarius's was arched; it can hold five

* Mr. Scoles, an unquestionable authority, gives the dimensions as 6 feet 8 inches by 6 feet 1 inch, and says "more than half of this chamber, on the north side, is occupied by the tomb." Consequently the standing room must be 6 feet 8 inches by less than 3 feet in width. Paschasius Radbertus says three palms, which is but little more than two feet.

persons,* Macarius's could hold nine; it is of grey limestone, Macarius's was of mottled stone, red and white. It bears from Calvary north-west; Macarius's, as shewn on Arculf's plan, due west. Every circumstance shews it to be suppositious—a forgery of a forgery, fabricated in an impossible place.” (pp. 273-275.)†



The “Holy Sepulchre.”‡

“I bow not, therefore, in the gorgeous pile
Where golden lamps irradiate the gloom,

* *Four* is the proper number, and they must pack close.

† The Church of Constantine was dedicated in . . .	A.D. 335
Was burnt by the Persians, under Chosroes . . .	614
— rebuilt by Modestus . . .	629
— destroyed by Emir el Omra, in time of Christopher, Patriarch of Jerusalem . . .	936
— burnt by the Fatimite Khalifs . . .	969
— rebuilt, and afterwards destroyed again utterly and purposely, by Khalif el Hakim . . .	1010
— rebuilt by Monomachus . . .	cir. 1048
And burnt, ultimately . . .	1808
And rebuilt . . .	1810

‡ Favoured by the publishers of *Bartlett's Walks in Jerusalem*, Messrs. Hall and Virtue.

And monks their votaries and themselves beguile
 To think they worship at their *Saviour's* tomb.
 For rites like theirs let annual crowds illumine
 Their odorous censers, scattering far and wide
 Their fumes: I doubt the tales the monks assume
 For gospel truth, and were not this denied,
 Much they misuse the spot where their *Redeemer* died."

The Pilgrimage, xxiv.

The reviewer next attacks his position of Gihon, and the pool of Hezekiah.

"Mr. Williams is a good specimen of the pious sophistication and ostentatious credulity which have taken the place of the sincere reasoning and manly spirit of inquiry that used to distinguish the men of Cambridge. He makes a merit of persuading himself into the idlest beliefs by the silliest circles and ambages of argument, and is continually engaged in pious frauds on his own understanding. To get rid of Hezekiah's Pool he makes the most laborious exertions, and after painfully confounding all the water courses of Jerusalem, makes out that the waters of Gihon, which Hezekiah brought straight down to the *west* side of the city of David, and gathered in the *midst* of the city, are the waters of Siloam, on the *east* of the city of David, *outside* the walls altogether, brought, not from Gihon at all, but from some hidden source, as he thinks, north of the Damascus gate.

"Why, how will it help your argument, though Acra and Millo were shewn to be called the city of David in every chapter of Chronicles, since Siloam is east of Acra, and east of Millo, and east of all Jerusalem? But Mr. Williams says—'This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the reservoir which Hezekiah made is clearly placed, by the language of Holy Scripture, at the end of the valley, viz., at the pool of Siloa.' This, however, we are painfully obliged to say, is not true. . . . After contending with such blind and unscrupulous devotion for the authenticity of the sepulchre, Mr. Williams, as may be expected, yields himself up in a delirium of credulity to the superstitious genius of the spot. We have seen Mr. Wilde's account of the effects of the fire of 1808, in cracking the marble covering of the supposed tomb. Here is Mr. Williams's version of that event, with some prefatory observations, which afford a good specimen of the mystical pleonastic style affected by writers of this new monkish school." . . . (p. 241.)

Mr. Williams here narrates what he calls "a most remarkable fact," that although the heat was so intense that the columns of the church were completely pulverized, the lamps and chandeliers melted like wax, etc., etc., "the holy cave

itself received not the slightest injury externally or internally; the silk hangings and ornaments remaining unscathed by the flame, the smell of fire not even having passed over them."*

IX. *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Vol. iii: or *Theological Review*, No. XI. Aug., and No. XII. Nov. 1846. *On the Topography of Jerusalem*. By E. Robinson, Prof.

In this volume Dr. Robinson elaborates some of his former arguments, and refutes the objections raised against them. In the "Researches" the various topographical features of Jerusalem are pointed out and explained, in order to give the reader a clear and correct view of the disposition of the ancient city; but in the present volume the learned professor proves, step by step, the arguments which he had before adduced. He does this in the form of propositions: they are as follows:—

1. The Tyropœon was a depression or ravine (*φάραγξ*) running down eastward from near the Yaffa gate. The hill Akra, on which was the Lower City, was the ridge immediately north of Zion and west of Moriah.

2. The hill Bezetha was the hill immediately adjacent to the present area of Haram, on its north-north-west quarter.

3. The gate Gennath, at which the second wall of Josephus began, was in the first or old wall near to the tower Hippicus.

4. The second wall of Josephus ran on the west of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and included that site within the Lower City.

5. The southern portion of the present Haram-area formed part and parcel of the ancient Temple-enclosure; and was not first built up at a later period.

* This miracle of the nineteenth century will be brought forward in a succeeding age as having been attested by the evidence of a minister of the Protestant Church of England; and be compared to the miraculous escape, recorded in Holy Scripture, of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, "upon whose bodies the fire had no power, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them." It was thus that the credulous Christians of the middle ages believed that the emissaries of the Khalif el Hakim "endeavoured to break in pieces even the hollow tomb of the Sepulchre, with iron hammers, but without success;" and "when they found it impossible to break in pieces the stone of the monument, they tried to destroy it with the help of fire, but it remained firm and solid as adamant."

6. The fortress Antonia appears to have occupied the whole northern portion of the present Harem-area.

7. The fountain Gihon was on the west of the present city, probably in the upper part of the valley of Hinnom.

8, 9. [Two other propositions follow, of a more general character.]

These propositions I am willing to accept, with the exception of the second and the sixth, which I will consider in another place, but which I would thus state—

2. The hill Bezetha was the hill immediately north of the ancient Temple-area.

6. The fortress Antonia occupied the north-west angle of the ancient Temple-area.

The first proposition relates to two points: first, with regard to the valley of the Tyropœan. It has been seen that Dr. Robinson bestowed considerable care to the examination of this line, and it was not without deep conviction on his mind that he asserted the former existence of a valley; but owing to the changes which the valley has since undergone he advanced his proofs with caution and circumspection. Mr. Williams gave an unqualified denial to these statements. But Dr. Robinson is not the first to make this assertion: in fact, it has always been held to be the Tyropœon, till Mr. Williams endeavoured to place it elsewhere. Brocardus, so early as the thirteenth century, writes:—"The valley which ran down on the northern side of Mount Zion, from the Tower of David to Mount Moriah; bending," etc.* The Rev. Eli

* "Proinde vallis quæ a turri David descendeat contra latus Aquilonare montis Sion usque ad montem Moria, et reflectitur," etc. (Cap. viii.) Mr. Williams objects that "Brocardus was no antiquary." His evidence would have been more trustworthy if he had been less so, as the "*Holy City*" itself would have been increased in value had Mr. Williams paid less deference to the traditions of antiquity. Bernard Lamy, a learned priest of the Oratory, says, "*Inferior civitas a superiori urbe distinguebatur profundâ valle, quæ ab occidente in orientem portendebatur: nomen hujus vallis Tyropœum.*" (*Appar. Geog.*, xiii. 1, p. 316.) "Nördlich von Zion, von diesem durch den obern Theil des Tyropöum getrennt, welches als eine geringe Vertiefung beim Jafathore beginnt,

Smith confirms the Professor's statement as to the rise of the street behind the church of the Holy Sepulchre: (p. 431:) and Dr. Durbin, another writer, observes—"the second valley, opening from the citadel,—first eastwardly, and then turning to the south,—is called the valley of the Tyropæon."* Later still, we have more complete evidence in "excavations actually made at different points in the valley itself," one of which was in the grounds belonging to the palace of the Knights Hospitalers, which stood immediately south of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and a few yards from the Tyropæon. After excavating to the depth of 15 or 20 feet, they came upon the roof of an arched chamber, so that the level of the ground in this spot must have been at least from thirty to forty feet below the present level. Another excavation occurred about 150 yards from the Jaffa gate, and the depth here also is described as equally profound.† All this weight of evidence Mr. Williams finds it convenient to set aside as "the shadow of an argument for the pseudo Tyropæon."‡

erhebt sich die Höhe Akra." (Dr. Fr. Arnold, *Palästina*, p. 89.) Dr. Schultz speaks of "the large sewer in the street of the bazaars, covered with broad flat stones, and which runs from north to south." (*Jerus.*, p. 61; *Bibl. Sacr.*, iii. 431.) Bachiene, (*Hist. und Geog. Beschreib. von Palästina*, ii. § 136, p. 307, 308, and charte viii. p. 400,) Adam Reisner, (*Jerus.*, p. xxi. b. and pl. p. ix,) Sandys, (*Relation*, p. 156,) Bernardin Surius, (*Le pieux Pelerin*, p. 374,) Ersch and Gruber, (*Encyclopädie*, p. 285 a, 319 a, b, and taf. ii,) Bernardino Amico (in his map of Jerusalem, pl. 43;) and recently Wilde, (*plan*, and p. 231,) all give it a direction from west to east, and then to the south.

* *Observations in the East*, i. 288. New York, 1845.

† Rev. G. B. Whiting, in a letter to Dr. Robinson, printed in *Bibl. Sacr.*, vol. v. pp. 94, 95.

‡ *Holy City*, 2nd edit., Suppl., p. 130. Mr. Williams brings forward, as evidence, some authors of the middle ages who happen to say nothing respecting the valley; but, by the same laws of negative inference, he might insist that there was never a line of cliffs along the northern brow of Zion, because these same writers are alike silent respecting it. (ii. 61, 62.) He "has confidence in the accurate observation, in the correct memory, and the fair statement of Mr. Eli Smith," who states that between two parallel lines running west and east from the north-west angle of wall, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre,

The second part of the first proposition asserts that the extension of Acra into Bezetha, proposed by modern writers, is in want of conformity with the description by Josephus, according to which the hill lay between two valleys, whereas, by their scheme, Acra would be bounded on the east by the *ridge* of Bezetha. (p. 426.) Dr. Robinson refers to Adrichomius, Villapandus, D'Anville, and many others, in support of his position of the four hills, (436,) and observes—“If, on the other hand, the hill on the north of Moriah be assumed as Akra, and the valley from the Damascus gate as the Tyropæon, then Akra was *not* adjacent to Zion, nor did it face it; nor was it separated from it only by a single valley; but between these two hills there lay two valleys with an intervening ridge, and the distance between the nearest parts of Zion and Akra was more than a quarter of a mile.” (p. 423.)

If Mr. Williams had designated the boundaries of the four hills by coloured lines, he would have left a gap of a triangular form, having Zion on the south, the ‘Holy Sepulchre’ on the west, and the street of Ephraim (which he calls the “street of the valley”) on the north-east,—without a name;* but which, on the *plan* accompanying his work, he calls Acra, though in his *text* it can only be ascribed to Zion; for he endeavours to identify this street with the line of the Tyropæon, which Josephus plainly says separated Zion from Acra. Thus, as Dr. Robinson observes, he is “left upon the sharp horns of a dilemma.” (p. 423.)

Among other arguments which Dr. Robinson adduces in support of the third Proposition, he notices the passage of Josephus where Titus is described as reconnoitring the defences of the

and from Hippicus along the northern brow of Zion, “there would be a decided depression between them, into which water would run from both,” (*Bibl. Sacr.*, iii. 434,) and yet, Mr. Williams professes not to be able to withhold his “surprise that Dr. Robinson did not see, or, seeing, did not acknowledge, how very discordant this testimony is with his theory.” (ii. 30.)

* See the plan, p. 339, under letter A.

city, and resolving to commence his attack opposite the high-priest John's monument, "because in this part the fortifications were lower, and the second wall made no junction, they having been negligent in walling up those parts where the new city was not very thickly inhabited; but rather there was an easy approach to the third wall, through which he hoped to take the Upper City."* He endeavours to explain the passage by supposing, from the circumstance that there was "no junction," that therefore the point of junction of the second wall *with the first* had fallen into decay; and this conjecture he supports by another passage from Josephus, where Simon is described as *fortifying* the wall.† (p. 446.) Here again he finds it requisite to *explain* Josephus' words; though the effort is purely gratuitous, the want of junction evidently having reference to the third wall, and the fortifying, to the manning the walls in this portion of the city, and putting them into a state of defence. This passage, however, we shall have occasion to examine in another place.

In further support of the fourth Proposition, he urges upon Mr. Williams the objection, that, according to the position of Acra which he insists upon, the western wall would cross the very termination or point of the ridge, and would be overlooked or commanded by the higher ground on the west and north-west.‡ (p. 450.)

The fifth Proposition, though ably argued by Dr. Robinson, cannot, under our present knowledge of the interior of the Haram-es-shereef, be considered as fully *proved*. Dr. Robinson affirms that the east, south, and west walls are co-existent, and then argues that the southern portion of the Haram must necessarily form part of the ancient Temple area; but his opponents assert that the northern portion is one mass of rock, and therefore that *it* must have formed a portion: but that they

* *Bell.*, v. 6, § 2.

† *Id.*, v. 7, § 2, 3.

‡ See, also, Wilson, *Lands of the Bible*, p. 436.

cannot both be right is evident from the fact, that the present Haram would contain more than two such areas as that covered by the Temple of Solomon.

To these he might have added a tenth Proposition, to the effect that the Asamonæan valley was not completely, but partially filled in: for he attempts to prove this by showing that "It was in order to connect the Temple with the lower city, that the Maccabees heaped up earth in the valley; thus either raising its bed or forming a mound across it," (p. 420,) for "the expression does not imply that they so filled up the valley as to obliterate all traces of it; such is not the meaning of the word *χάσσειν*. It may here signify one of two things, viz. either that the Maccabees, by filling in the earth, raised the general level of the valley, or that they built a mound or causeway across it." (p. 418.)

Among the miscellaneous Propositions, (IX.) is one relating to the Tomb of Helena,* which Dr. Robinson wishes to substitute for the 'Tombs of the Kings;' but I think without sufficient authority; for in describing the course of the Third Wall, Josephus, after mentioning the 'monuments of Helena,' says, "it then extended farther to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the Kings, and bent again at the corner." (*Bell.* v. 4, § 2.) On referring to the map, it will be seen that the distance from the tombs in question to the 'corner tower' is incompatible with this great extension spoken of by Josephus. But in another passage we have a more precise indication of the locality of this monument. As Titus arrived opposite to the city, he rode to the tower Psephinus, for the purpose of reconnoitring, but on rounding this tower, a number of Jews suddenly issued from the "'Women's Towers'

* The mention of this monument calls to our recollection the fable related of it by Pausanias, according to whom it contained a door, which opened of its own accord on a particular day and hour of the year, and then closed again; neither was it possible to open the door on any other day, except by violence. (Paus., viii. 16.)

through that gate which was over against the monuments of Queen Helena," &c. This position of the monument in the neighbourhood of Psephinus, is very clearly indicated by Dr. Schultz, in his Map of Jerusalem.*

Dr. Robinson has recently returned from another tour in the Holy Land, the results of which he has communicated to the Royal Geographical Society, and which will shortly be given to the public. After going through the arguments of his opposers, he can find no reason for changing his former opinion respecting the plan of the City of Jerusalem. Through especial permission afforded to him, of beholding the area from a house on the wall, he was enabled to confirm the accuracy of Mr. Catherwood's plan of the Haram-es-shereef, measured within the area, in opposition to that of the Royal Engineers, which was taken from without. He adduces further proof of the valley of the Tyropæon, by the accumulation of rubbish—the chapel of the church of St. John being twenty-five feet below the present level—and by careful inspection of the streets running northward from the street of the Jaffa Gate, all of which have a very perceptible rise; and he discovers that the reservoirs of water near the Damascus Gate, pronounced from their taste to be the "Waters of Siloam," and therefore insisted on by Mr. Williams as evidence of a northerly direction of the Tyropæon, are reservoirs of rain-water, the peculiar taste of which arises from the water being stagnant.

Through the kindness of the Council of the Geographical Society I am permitted to give the following extract from Dr. Robinson's paper:—

"The street which runs North in the rear of the Church of the Sepulchre, rises very considerably in that portion of it; although at its Southern end it appears to decline Northwards. But just at this Southern end is the Greek Church of St. John; beneath which there has been dug out a chapel standing on ground at least twenty-five feet below the present level of the two streets at that point. In the Bazaars, the water is, conducted off by a sewer running

* Schultz, *Jerusalem*. 8vo., Berlin, 1845.

towards the South; and further North, opposite to the Church of the Sepulchre, the main street is carried along a *covered passage cut through a ridge of solid rock*. Turning down at the South end of this covered passage, along the street leading by Helena's Hospital, so called, we enter on the left the court of the Prussian Consul, and ascend by two flights of steps to his garden and dwelling, (formerly Mr. Lanneau's,) on the same ridge. Following the same street further down, we find it crossing very obliquely the crest of the descending ridge. If, again, from the street running South along the depression or valley, one enters the street next South of the one just described, he first ascends West rather steeply; the street then turns North, and he ascends quite as steeply, until it turns West again. Here another street comes into it from the South, up a rather steep ascent. From all this it appears that there is on the North of Zion a rocky ridge, on which the Church of the Holy Sepulchre stands; and which ends below in a rather broad point, about in a line between the said Church and the great Mosque. This is the ridge which, with the adjacent tract, according to the description of Josephus, must be regarded as Akra."

X. *The Holy City*. Second Edition. By Geo. Williams, B.D. 2 vols. 8vo. 1849.

After lamenting the evils consequent upon his not having been enabled to revise the sheets of the first edition of his work previous to their going to Press, Mr. Williams makes the following apology to the author of the '*Biblical Researches*.'

"The chief of these (evils), and that which has occasioned me the greatest regret, is one which I must seize the earliest opportunity of acknowledging in public, as I have already done in private, to the party principally aggrieved. It is, that, in my zeal for what I held, and still hold, to be important truth, I forgot the courtesy and consideration due to those who differed from me. Whatever opinion I might have formed of the arguments and conclusions of Professor Robinson, I was not justified in imputing motives, of which I could be no adequate judge; and I would gladly recall, as I do sincerely retract, all those harsh insinuations and personal reflections, which ought not to have been applied to a gentleman and a scholar, and which would not, I hope, have escaped the censorship of a maturer judgment, had they been subjected to my revision in their passage through the press. I have endeavoured to weed them carefully from the present edition." [This apology, which would be satisfactory only if seen by all those who had perused his first edition, is nullified by the paragraph which immediately follows:—]"and I heartily hope that personalities which have indeed been too freely indulged on all sides, will be no more allowed to embarrass the sufficiently perplexing questions with which we are engaged." (*Preface*.)

* But is an apology of this nature, even if not equivocally expressed, a sufficient reparation to the evil which has been caused? What appears to be the facts? A predetermined spirit has been evinced to throw over the arguments of objectors at whatever cost. If counter arguments can be produced, well: if not, recourse must be had to bold assertion, to flat denial, to ridicule, to priestly censure;* and if all this is likely to be of no avail, then insinuations of want of candour, of sinister motives, of dishonesty, must be cast out, and the matter in question so mystified, that many are led to think that he has the best arguments who talks loudest. The case reminds one of a dishonest lawyer, who, knowing his own client to be in the wrong, traduces and vilifies the character of the plaintiff, and then, having gained a verdict, and robbed him of his estate, turns round to the Jury, and tells them that he has just been informed, from credible authority, that the plaintiff is a person of the highest character, and of the most unblemished integrity. But is the Second Edition free from such imputations? Far from it. There are too many expressions of contumely and bitterness, which, to say the least, are highly improper, when addressed by one Clergyman of the reformed Church to another, whose difference of opinion is owing, not to a reception of error, but to a conscientious denial of that which, if proved, is only of secondary importance, and whose reasons for doing so are, that honour should not be transferred to the inanimate substance which is due to God alone.

Mr. Williams's Second Edition not being in continuation of his previous volume, but rather an amplification of his former subject, I have thought it better to incorporate the additional arguments here brought forward, with those contained in the First Edition, in order to prevent this notice from becoming too desultory and confused. To have considered these addi-

* No sarcastic allusion to the Church is here intended: but the writer wishes to urge the impropriety of Mr. Williams' having employed such a tone to a person like Dr. Robinson.

tional arguments in this place would have necessitated the reopening of the whole subject. It is sufficient to find that Mr. Williams asserts, in his Second Edition, that "not an inch of debateable ground has been ceded."

It is proper to observe, that an enlarged plan, copied from the Ordnance Survey, accompanies this Second Edition, and that 'A historical and descriptive Memoir,' illustrative of this survey is contained in the first volume, (pp. 1-164;) [the arguments in which have been already considered;] and that a long chapter, (iii. pp. 129-194) by Professor Willis, on 'the Architectural History of the Holy Sepulchre,' appears in the second volume. The latter addition does not come within the scope of this article: there is one circumstance, however, contained in this essay which it is right to notice in this place. I have stated that the objections put forward in the 'Dublin University Magazine' have not been answered: for although the name of the Review appears in Mr. Williams's introductory Preface, no mention is made of it in the body of the work, but the argument is taken up, as if *de novo*, in the following manner.

Mr. Williams states, in reference to the testimony of Arculfus, that an answer to the objections will be adduced by Professor Willis. (ii. 80.) On turning then to Professor Willis's article, we meet with the following defence:

"The capacity of the chamber was somewhat greater in Arculfus' time than it now is, but perhaps not more than may be accounted for by the space occupied by the artificial lining of the chamber, and the construction of the altar, which covers the *loculus*," (tomb.) p. 179. Then referring to the circular form described by Arculfus, he adduces a passage in Willibald, (A.D. 765) where it is stated that "The Sepulchre was cut out of the rock; and that rock was above ground, and is square below, and contracted above." (*Illud sepulchrum fuerat in petra excisum; et illa petra stet super terram, et est quadrans in imo, et in summo subtilis.*) The Professor then argues "The *quadrans in imo* refers to the square form of the chamber *within, to which Arculfus does not allude*, but merely describes the external form of the 'tegurium' as round. *In summo subtilis* appears to allude to the pavilion of fine workmanship which was erected on the Sepulchre." (pp. 176-179.)

It is to be regretted that Professor Willis, who with this

exception has confined his subject to the consideration of the architecture of the church, did not leave the defence of the Sepulchre itself to the author of the 'Holy City', who would have been so well qualified to have undertaken it. By stooping to so weak and false an argument, he has damaged the character of his otherwise, I doubt not, valuable remarks, and identified himself with the movement in favour of these ecclesiastical traditions. How can 'quadrans in imo' be proved to signify *square within*? and even if it did, how could the circumstance that the Sepulchre seen by Willibald was square within, disprove the clear and precise description of Arculfus, or the equally clear and well defined double line of the wall of the *tegurium* in his plan? By such a system of logic he would find no difficulty in proving, from the 'Parentalia,' that the Church of St. Paul, as built by Wren, was a Gothic Cathedral.*

* Mr. Williams regards it as his "fortune and his privilege to be the first of modern travellers to put in a plea for the ancient traditions of Jerusalem." This requires some qualification. Dr. Olin, the President of the Wesleyan University in New York, published his travels in Egypt, Arabia, Petraea, and the Holy Land, in 1843, two years before the appearance of Mr. Williams's work. Dr. Olin pleads for the antiquity of the Holy Sepulchre, and for several other sacred sites; and many of his arguments have been subsequently re-adduced. The work, however, is quoted by Mr. Williams only on one occasion, and then only because it allows him to cast a fling at the *uncatholicity* of English travellers. (First edit., p. 426.) But there is this difference to be observed between the two writers.—The former is painfully alive to the falsity of monkish traditions, (ii. 291,) and acknowledges that "a general and indiscriminating suspicion of all monkish legends and traditions, is perhaps the true, philosophical position, but he found it extremely difficult to resist the strong current of opinion and feeling that prevailed upon the spot. Indeed (he) yielded to it....for the time at least, (ii. 277)....he found believing far more agreeable than cold incredulity. He endeavoured to carry with him everywhere a paramount reverence for truth, and the spirit of fair and watchful criticism, but he could not, and would not, deny himself the luxury of communing freely with the glorious objects that fill and surround the holy city." (ii. 294.) The latter writer, on the other hand, insists upon what the former merely endeavours to believe, and endeavours to believe what he rejects. It would be folly and a cruelty to interfere with the fond reveries of the former; it is our duty to withstand and expose the determined errors of the latter.

XI. *An Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem.* By James Fergusson, F.R.A.S. 8vo. Lond. 1847.

This remarkable book, which displays, on the part of its author, great originality of purpose, a quick and acute perception, with much study and research, has the advantage of being written by one who is intimately acquainted with the history of art; than whom, therefore, no one could be better qualified for the task he has undertaken. We cannot, however, but regret the too dogmatical style in which it has been cast. Every page abounds with some such expression as—proof positive—conclusive evidence—minutely correct—no one who knows anything about the matter will think differently:—which is as much as to say, This is my opinion, and every sensible man will think with me.* The consequence of this has been, that many, who would otherwise have been disposed to accept the premises, begin to question whether the evidence adduced is of that irrefragable nature which it is supposed to be.

The object of the book we find to be,

"To vindicate the Bible and early Christian tradition from the slur indirectly cast upon them by our inability to trace, in Jerusalem, the scenes and localities they describe; and, if possible, to place them on a sound and rational basis." (p. ult.) [Or, as he expresses it in another place,] "There is a hiatus in the arguments of all those who have opposed (the present traditions), in their not being able to say, or even hint, where the true sepulchre was, . . . and till this is done, I fear it is not in human nature to admit any argument, however reasonable; for there is, and always has been, in the human mind, or at all events, in a certain class of human minds, a principle of idolatry which has given form to the faith of millions of millions, through thousands of years, and which requires that for the calling forth or exercise of their faith, some tangible object should be presented to their corporeal senses—whether in the form of a relic—of a holy spot with which an act may be associated—or a graven image which will represent what the mind is too lazy to conceive—and which requires, in this instance, a sepulchre, and it matters little whether it be the true one or not; it answers their purpose." (pp. 76, 77.)

* This is the more reprehensible in an author, whose arguments, however ingenious and however plausible, are necessarily of a hypothetical character.

Here I consider to lie the weakness of the book: the author should have been content to show the true *church* of the sepulchre, not the true *sepulchre* itself; he should have striven not to obtain the consent of "millions of millions" of his readers, but to announce the truth, even though he met not with one supporter. But of this anon.

The subjects of what we may regard as his propositions are the following:—

1. (The size and situation of Herod's Temple.) This he asserts to have been 600 feet square, and no more, and to have been situated at the S.W. angle of the present Haram es Shereef; and he further asserts, that the eastern wall of the present platform formed the third wall of Agrippa.*

2. (The position of Hippicus, and the course of the ancient walls.) The tower he places at the N.W. angle of the present city, near the Latin Convent; and the First Wall he makes to include both the Upper and Lower cities, thus denying the existence of a northern wall to the Upper city. (pp. 36, 39.)

3. (The true position of Zion:) which he makes identical with the "hill" upon which stands the rock Sakhra, now covered by the dome of the rock. (p. 58.)

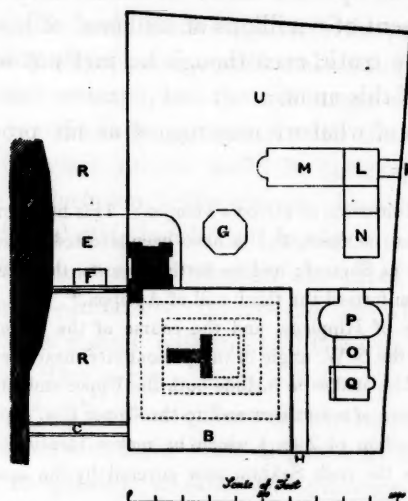
4. (The site of the Holy Sepulchre [which he makes this Sakhra,] and of the Christian buildings erected by Constantine and Justinian.) (pp. *prima et ult.*) i. e. That the so called Mosque of Omar was the church of the holy sepulchre built by Constantine; but that, in the eleventh century, the Christians *transferred* the sacred site to its present position.* (Part III.)

5. To these may be added the following proposition, which, however, will not bear an argument. That Antonia, Baris, the castle Acra, Millo, Bethsur, and the "City of David", were all one and the same thing. (pp. 33, 65, and pl. vi.)

1. In support of the first proposition, Mr. Fergusson shows that Josephus invariably describes the Temple as being 400 cubits square, (p. 6,) and in proof that this dimension should be reckoned according to the common cubit of six handsbreadth, or eighteen inches, which would give us a length of 600 feet, he again adduces Josephus as stating, that the circuit of the Temple was four stadia; thus giving us the same dimension of 600 feet, or thereabouts. He then points out, that the plan of substructions under the Haram exhibits a wall running N. and S. at exactly the distance of 600 feet from the S.W. corner; (p. 8;) while another striking confirmation of this location of the Temple is

* It is said by Josephus to join the *old* wall, not the northern or eastern sides of the Temple.

exhibited in the circumstance, that the south wall of the platform of the Dome of the Rock is also at exactly 600 feet distance from the south wall of the Haram; (see pl. iv.) thus giving the line of the eastern and northern sides of



Mr. Fergusson's Plan of the Temple.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| A. The Temple. | K. The Golden Gateway. |
| B. Herod's Stoa Basilica. | L. Atrium } Basilica of |
| C. The Bridge. | M. Martyrium } Constantine. |
| D. Tower of Antonia. | N. Church of Golgotha. |
| E. Millo, Baris, Aera, Antonia, Bêthsour, and City of David. | O. Atrium. |
| F. Council House. | P. Xenodochium. |
| G. The Anastasis, or Church of the Holy Sepulchre—Sion. | Q. Church of St. Mary. |
| H. Justinian's Gateway. | R. Parbar Suburba. |
| | S. The Upper Market Place. |
| | T. Aera. |

the Temple: the western and southern being identical with the present Haram inclosure. On the western wall he finds a causeway at 600 feet distance from the S.W. angle, which causeway he supposes to be the remains of the old wall which connected the Temple with the upper city; (p. 17;) and in support of the antiquity of the southern wall, he asserts that the foundations under the mosque Aksa are of greater antiquity than the other substructions; (p. 118;)* and that these later substructions, at the S.E. angle, terminate precisely at the extent of 600 feet from the western wall, and occur just in the position where we know, from Procopius, that Justinian built his church in honour of the Virgin Mary.

* The Mahometan writers unequivocally affirm that the mosque of Aksa stands on the site of the Temple of Solomon. (See Jalal-Addin, p. 42; Medjir-ed-din, p. 95.)

He then suggests, that the *bridge*,* discovered by Dr. Robinson, corresponded with the central avenue of the Basilican Stoa. The bridge† is 39 feet from the S. corner of the area, and 51 in width; its centre, therefore, is 64 feet 6 inches from the S.W. angle. The side avenues of the Royal Portico were 30 feet, which, added to half the central avenue, (45 feet,) give 52½, to which must be added the thickness of the wall, with its sets-off and amount of battering, which he estimates would form a total, approximating to the former dimensions. (p. 12.)‡

2. The second proposition is so unsupported by facts, and so opposed to what everybody admits, that it is sufficient to say of Mr. Fergusson's theory, that, according to his own acknowledgment, (p. 39,) it is opposed to the testimony of Josephus, so far as relates to the position of the three towers Hippius, Phasaëlus, and Mariamne. The reality of a north wall to the upper city is equally clear from Josephus.

* The Hebrew word is *Aliyah*, which signifies an *arched bridge*. Rev. Moses Margoliouth, *Pilgrimage to the Land of my Fathers*, ii. 365.

† The "bridge" is referred to by Bernhard, "*Ubi templum in vicinia muri ab oriente locatum ipsique urbi, transitu pervio, ponte mediante, fuerat conjunctum,*" etc. *Recueil de Voy.*, iv. p. 797.

‡ Mr. Williams objects, that because one arch would be too low, and three arches (his own suggestion) too high, that therefore it could not have been a bridge. (*H. C.*, ii. 389.) It appears not to have occurred to him that it might have consisted of two arches in height. This bridge is supposed by Dr. Robinson to have been the "ascent by which (Solomon) went up into the house of the Lord," (I Kings x. 5; II Chron. ix. 4;) but it seems more natural to connect this ascent with the stairs at which those who went up to the house of the Lord were annoyed by the Macedonians within the fortress of Acra, who lay in wait against the sanctuary, (I Macc., iv. 41;) or with the south gate of the Temple, which communicated with the palace of Solomon.

Professor Willis enters into an ingenious speculation relative to the Basilican Stoa. Reckoning 10 piers in the mosque Abu-Bekr, 8 in the Akse, 7 for the space between Akse and the eastern substructions, and adding the 16 piers of the substructions, he obtains 41 piers, which is just the number required for the 162 columns of Josephus arranged in four rows. (*H. C.*, Suppl., note A, pp. 125-128.) But Mr. Fergusson shows that the piers are too irregularly placed to have supported a colonnade above; though one of his objections, which is relative to the size of the columns being 37 feet in height, is answered by the fact of their being only 27 feet, according to Josephus. (*Ant.*, xv. 11, § 5; Fergusson, *Essay*, p. 10.)

3. The third proposition is still less in accordance with reason. Dr. Lightfoot's theory, that Zion existed to the north of Acra, and Dr. Clarke's, that it lay to the south of the Valley of Hinnom, were less extravagant, because each of these theories had some argument in support of it; but to place Zion to the north of Moriah, and on a rock not fifty feet square, does seem below comment.* In endeavouring to attach Zion to the Temple Mount, Mr. Fergusson quotes several passages from the Bible, in order to prove that Zion and Jerusalem were different places: (p. 74:) but it is singular that Mr. Fergusson did not perceive that these passages, and some seventy more which might be mentioned, are all examples of parallelism or apposition, and that he could not have more effectually shown that Jerusalem and Zion—in its extended sense—are put for the same thing: and it is even more singular, that he should have quoted such a passage as, "The people shall yet dwell in Zion at Jerusalem," (Isaiah xxx. 19,) when he himself endeavours to show, a few pages subsequently, (p. 78,) that this place was "outside the city," and "free from houses."

4. The fourth proposition consists of two statements:—that the Sakhra is identical with the holy sepulchre of Constantine; and that it is in truth the Sepulchre of our Lord.

Even granting the size of Solomon's Temple, and the position of Antonia, as laid down by Mr. Fergusson, the authority for which will be presently considered, and divesting it of all other difficulties, there is one argument which militates strongly

* Mr. Williams's idea, that the rude rock of the Sakhrah formed a fitting threshing-floor for Auronah, is nearly as absurd, (*H. C.*, Suppl., p. 417); and an equally astonishing theory is that of Professor Willis, who regards the cave of the Sakhrah as the cesspool of the Jewish altar. (*Id.*, ii. 341.)

The Turks describe a well or pit beneath the floor of this cave, which they call the "Well of Souls." It is probable that, on taking up or examining the floor, a gallery would be found, running in a southerly direction towards the site of the Temple; this rock marking the situation of the Antonia, between which buildings a subterranean communication existed in the time of Josephus. (*Ant.*, xv. 11, § 7.)

against it, viz., the fact that the houses had so far extended beyond the walls, that twelve or thirteen years after the crucifixion of our Lord, Agrippa found it necessary to inclose a larger area of ground than the whole of the city had formerly occupied, and that the portion of this new city which was first inhabited, was that very quarter, Bezetha, which lay immediately north of the Temple. This spot, therefore, although then outside the wall, was in the midst of houses, and consequently a most unlikely place to have been selected for the place of crucifixion and burial.* That it was not the sepulchre discovered and adorned by Constantine, is not so easy to disprove; on the contrary, there are "evidences of a startling nature in support of what (he) advances." (p. 78.)

He affirms that, though modern tradition attributes the Dome of the Rock to the Turks, there is no ancient record among the Mahometans to that effect, (pp. 108, 130, 142, 179,) while several may be produced among the Christians in favour of its having been built by them. After stating his decided conviction that the building was erected by Constantine, (pp. 83, 84,) he adduces as a singular circumstance, that Adamnanus, who visited the city about 695, or only a few years after the time when the building is said to have been completed by Abd-el-Malek, should give us an accurate description of the Aksa, but neglect to say one word relative to the other new and handsome mosque, the Dome of the Rock; and from this circumstance he infers, that it was not a mosque, but the church of the holy Sepulchre built by Constantine. (pp. 146—148.) This he thinks confirmed by the account given us by Mahometan historians,† of Omar's entrance into the city. Desiring the Patriarch Sophronius to lead him to the site of the Temple of Solomon, he was taken first to the church of the Sepulchre, then to the church on Mount Zion, then to the Castle of David, and finally to the place where he afterwards built the mosque Aksa; on which Mr. Fergusson asks, "What could have induced the Patriarch to lead Omar to the present Sepulchre, and say, 'This is the Mosque of David'?" (p. 135.) But the whole account is so doubtful, that I prefer to accept the account of Euty-

* He supports his argument (pp. 85, 86) by reference to Mr. Finlay's theory of a supposed census and "survey," by the Romans, of the whole of Palestine, of so minute a description that every locality was indicated, and every field measured; (*Essay on the site of the Holy Sepulchre*, by George Finlay;) but as this evidence is rejected by Mr. Williams, who would have been but too glad to have made use of it, it is unnecessary to notice it further.

† The Christian account is different. See Eutychiei, *Annales*, ii. 284.

chius." He next comments on what he regards as the cautious, if not suspicious language* of the interpolation to the 'history of St. Willibald,' which he believes to have been written in the latter end of the eleventh century, shortly after the transference of the site—"Nunc est ecclesia in illo loco qui dicitur Calvariae locus: et hæc fuit prius extra Hierusalem, sed Beata Helena, quando invenerit crucem, collocavit illum locum intus in Hierusalem."† On this circumstance, Messrs. Michaud and Poujulat observe, "*ce qui fut regardé par les Chrétiens comme un miracle du ciel.*"‡ The church of Calvary, moreover, which Arculfus described as *pergrandis*, is now only a shed against the outside wall. (p. 160.) Sæwulf, who visited the city in 1103, mentions a tradition which he discredits, that the Dome of the Rock (*Templum Domini*, as it is called by the Christians), was built by Justinian.§ (p. 180.) Albert Aquensis even more distinctly states, that "many assert that this church, which is called *Templum Domini*, is not to be understood of that ancient and wonderful work of King Solomon, but the edifice which was afterwards rebuilt by Christians."|| Jacob de Vitry affirms to the same effect.¶ (p. 181.)**

* Ibi nunc est ecclesia—cruces lignæ ad memoriam sanctæ crucis, etc.—lapis magnus in similitudinem, etc.—in illo loco qui dicitur Calvariae locus.

† *Act. Sanct. Ord. Bened.*, Sæc. iii. Pars ii. p. 375.

‡ *Correspondance d'Orient*, vol. v. p. 145.

§ "Quidam autem dicunt civitatem fuisse a Justiniano imperatore restauratum, et Templum Domini similiter sicut est adhuc—sed illi dicunt secundum opinionem, et non secundum veritatem, Assirii enim quorum patres coloni erant illius patriæ a prima persecutione, dicunt civitatem septies esse captum et destructum post Domini passionem, simul cum omnibus ecclesiis, sed non omnino præcipitam." (*Recueil de Voyages de la Soc. Géo. de Paris*, iv. 840.)

|| "Hoc templum, quod dicitur Domini, non illud antiquam ac mirabile opus regis Salomonis intelligendum est.... verum templum hoc postea a modernis et Christianis cultoribus reedificatum plures attestantur." (*Gesta Dei*, p. 281.)

¶ "Templum autem Domini sanctum—a fidelibus tamen et religiosis viris opere rotundo et decenter et magnificè—iterum est reparatum." (*Gesta Dei*, lxii. pp. 1080, 1081.)

** Mr. Fergusson's reviewer here remarks: "Are we not forced to smile at the mighty deeds of chivalry—the achievements of knights and warriors—the bursts of priestly eloquence—the victories of pilgrim hosts,—when we find that after mountains of treasure lavished, and rivers of blood spilt in the cause, Christian Europe is at last discovered to have knelt before a gross imposture, and borne away the palm in triumph, without having so much as recognized the shrine it had sacrificed so much to honour?" (*Dubl. Univ. Mag.*, January 1848, p. 419. See also p. 426.)

William of Tyre informs us that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was round, but by reason of the adjoining and overhanging cliffs was dark. (Lib. viii. cap. 3, p. 421.) Where are these cliffs?

From the consideration of these and other passages, Mr. Fergusson believes that the Christians were turned out of the original sepulchre by the Mahometans, between the years 969 and 1029, during the Moslem oppression from Muez to El Hakim, and that they built another 'church of the Holy Sepulchre' in the present site, between the years 1031 and 1048. (p. 164.) But, in addition to the preceding arguments, Mr. Fergusson adduces several points of detail, which he thinks confirmatory of the transference. These are with respect to the intermediate distances of the several parts of the structure. Antoninus Martyrus says the distance from Calvary to Golgotha was 80 paces, (which we may make equivalent to 240 feet,) whereas the present distance is only 120 feet: and again, the place of the "invention" of the cross is described as 12 paces (or about 36 feet) from Golgotha, whereas the present distance is 150 feet. (pp. 126, 127.)

But the most important argument, and that which he considers an overwhelming proof, is the architecture of the structure; and this is undoubtedly a very strong point. To judge of it in all its force the reader must refer to Mr. Fergusson's book, in order that he may examine the beautiful drawings prepared by Mr. Catherwood and Mr. Arundale. Here there can be no mistake, and with all deference to Mr. Williams's opinion in other respects, whoever it was built *for*, the dome of the rock was evidently built *by* Christian workmen, however it might subsequently have been incrustated with Saracenic detail;* as the Aksa, which he endeavours to claim as the church of the Virgin Mary, was undoubtedly built, probably, as we now see

* A singular coincidence occurs in the fact, that whereas the original sepulchre is described as being "not uniform, but appearing mixed, and of different colours, to wit, *red and white*, so that the said rock is of a piebald colour", which the present sepulchre is not, the excavation in the rock of the Sakrah is thus described by Ali Bey: "From what I could discern, particularly in the inside of the cave, the rock seemed to be composed of a *reddish-white* marble." (*Dub. Univ. Mag.*, January 1848, p. 419.)

it, at a subsequent period, by Mahometan artificers. The Christian, not to say heathen, character of the architecture of the dome of the rock, is evident from an examination of the plans of S. Costanza, at Rome; Sa. Ma. Maggiore, at Nocera; a small church near Bonn, said to be by queen Helena; S. Stefano Rotundo (which Mr. Fergusson wishes to consider as a copy of the church of the Holy Sepulchre!); but more especially the so-called temple of Jupiter, at Spalatro; and the baptistery of Constantine, at Rome; each of which latter structures are octagonal, with an inner circle of columns, the temple of Jupiter being furnished likewise with an outer row, and porches at the four sides. The architecture of the Aksa is equally conclusive, with its pointed arches, and its wooden architraves.*

Such are some of the arguments brought forward by Mr. Fergusson in support of his theory. There are others which I have kept separate, from their being liable to objection. Thus his position of Goatha, like Mr. Williams's system of "juxtaposition," is made to depend upon its being mentioned in the preceding verse to the Horse Gate (Jerem. xxxi. 39, 40,) while even this support is taken away by the fact that the Horse Gate was situated south of the temple. The destruction of the church, and its restoration by Modistus, would be fatal to his theory, and it is therefore pronounced "apocryphal." (178.) "The age is fertile in falsehoods, but I have not met with one more startling than this." (p. 129.) But, unfortunately, we have seen that Sæwulf describes the city as having been "taken and destroyed seven times, together with all its churches." [see *ante*, p. 380.] Again, so far from an octagonal tomb being so "utterly anomalous, and unlike anything any Mahometan ever did in any part of the

* After a feeble effort to disprove this reasoning, Mr. Williams summarily asserts, "it ignores all historical records, and sets at naught all architectural evidence"; "the very foundation on which the theory is based, is a foundation of sand", (*H. C.*, Suppl. p. 418,) and he proves to his own satisfaction that "the architectural argument is found to halt throughout, and fairly break down at last." (p. 426.)

world," (p. 111,) it is a common type in many parts of the east: witness the mausolea of Constantinople and the Crimea. The attempt to change the circular plan of Adimnanus into an octagon (p. 150) is ill-judged; for nothing can be clearer than his words "*rotunda ecclesia*," illustrated as they are by his circular plan: but as the description and plan did not suit *his* church of the Holy Sepulchre, one or other must be changed, and of the two evils Mr. Fergusson chose the less. The stained glass Mr. Fergusson regards as a proof of the building being Christian, (p. 106,) though he could scarcely be ignorant that stained glass is a usual embellishment both of the sacred and domestic architecture of oriental nations. The endeavour to maintain the antiquity of the ceilings was as impolitic as it was unnecessary; for if they had been renewed a hundred times this could not have affected the question at issue; while that they have been renewed is, I think, evident by their appearance, which displays much more of the taste prevalent at the period of rebuilding the 'church of the Holy Sepulchre' after the fire of 1808, than that in vogue in the time of Constantine. The ceiling is certainly not Mahometan in design, though the Mahometans often execute flat ceilings, and those of the most elaborate description. Nor can I regard as of any weight the assertion that the present Sakrah was not the Sakrah of Omar. (130, 134.) The Mahometans were directed to face the Caaba, or the south: and, therefore, when congregated in the Akse they would naturally have their backs to the Sakrah; which agrees perfectly with the account by Eutychius. Other objections are urged by Mr. Williams. (*H. C.*, ii. 90-116, and 416-427.)*

* Mr. Williams remarks: "Bold theories require bold arguments.... accordingly, whatever can be done to sustain his views—by suggesting the corruption of MSS., in the way of mutilation, interpolation, or omission—by variations in the original, or alterations in translating—is resorted to without scruple, sometimes without notice, [Mr. Williams gives no example,] always without authority." (*H. C.*, ii. 91, 92.) This opinion must be received with some qualification,

In support of the theory, however, it should be remembered that on the surrender of the city to Omar, he expressly bound himself to build only one mosque, which mosque we know was that subsequently enlarged into the mosque of Aksa; and we read of no violation of this treaty, which we might naturally suppose would have been loudly complained of had any taken place.

It is singular that the following Mahometan tradition of a transference of the 'sepulchre' should have escaped the notice of Mr. Fergusson. I should premise that the 'Dome of the Rock' is called by Mahometan writers *Bait-el-Mukaddas*, 'the holy house,' or 'the holy abode;' and that the 'church of the Holy Sepulchre' was originally called by the much more appropriate designation 'the church of the Resurrection.*'

"The Rock of the Baitu-l-Mukaddas, in the days of Solomon, was of the height of 12,000 cubits . . . upon it was a Chapel formed of aloes (or sandal wood), in height twelve miles . . . and the space between it and Heaven was no more than twelve miles. . . . Subsequently to its devastation by Nebuchadnezzar, when the Greeks obtained possession of it, they said, Let us build thereon a building far excelling that which was before. Therefore they built upon it a building as broad at the base as it was high in the sky, and gilded it with gold, and silvered it with silver. Then entering therein, they began to practise their associated (polytheistical) paganism, upon which it fell upon them, so that not one of them came out. . . . Hereupon he caused a second Temple to be built, which they did, spending a greater sum thereon, and having finished the second building, 70,000 entered it, as they had entered the first. But it happened to them as it had happened to the first. . . . Therefore

coming, as it does, from one, "through the whole of whose book", according to another writer, "we find that the superstitions, mistakes, foolish and corrupt observances and ceremonies, which have crept in and awfully disfigured the ancient churches in the East, are described with the most tender sympathy and respect, while he speaks of Protestants and Protestantism in terms of suspicion and contempt." (*Jewish Intell.*, Aug. 1845. Compare the *Churchman's Monthly Review*, of May 1845.)

* The change of name from the 'church of the Resurrection' to the 'church of the Holy Sepulchre,' is to be attributed to the circumstance, that the Resurrection of Christ afforded no material or tangible object to the sensual worshipper.

he assembled them a third time, and said, What think ye? and they said, We think that our God is not well pleased with us, because we have not offered unto him abundantly, therefore he has destroyed what we have done; therefore we should greatly wish to build a third. They then built a third, until they thought they had carried it to the greatest possible height, and surrounded it with crosses of gold and silver. . . . Then having entered it, they began to practice their associated paganism, as the others had done before them, whereupon down fell the third building upon them. Hereupon the King again summoned them together, and asked their counsel about what he should do. But their dread was very great; and whilst they were deliberating, there came up to them a very old man, in a white robe, and a black turban: his back was bent double, and he was leaning upon a staff. So he said, O Christian people, listen to me, listen to me! for I am the oldest of any of you in years, and am now come forth from among the retired votaries of religion, in order to inform you that with respect to this place, all its possessors are accursed, and all holiness hath departed from it, and hath been *transferred to this other place*. I will therefore point out this as the place wherein to build the Church of the Resurrection. I will show you the spot, but you will never see me after this day for ever. *Thus he cheated them*, and augmented their accursed state, and commanded them to *cut up the rock, and to build with its stones* upon the place which he commanded them. So, whilst he was talking with them he became concealed, and they saw him no more. Thereupon, they increased in their infidelity, and said, This is the Great Word. Then they demolished the Mosques (churches) and carried away the columns, and the stones, and all the rest, and built therewith the Church of the Resurrection, and the Church which is in the Valley of Hinnom. Moreover, this cursed old man commanded them, When ye have finished the building upon this other place, then take that place whose owners are accursed, and whence all holiness hath departed, to be a common sewer to receive the dung. By this they gratified their Lord. Also, they did this . . . and all filth and excrement was thrown upon the rock, until God awoke our prophet Mahomet." (*History of the Temple of Jerusalem: By Imam Jalal Addin al Siuti*, pp. 44-48.)*

According to another tradition,—

"We learn also from Omad, that . . . glad tidings were received of . . . the Spirit (Christ) having taken up his abode in the halting place of the night-

* Translated by Rev. Jas. Reynolds, B.A., for the Oriental Translation Fund, 8vo., Lond., 1836. This story, though a confused mixture of Eastern fable, a tradition of Julian's attempt to rebuild the Temple, and a tradition of the transference of the Holy Sepulchre by the Christians, is so clear respecting the latter statement as not lightly to be set aside.

journey, the *resting-place of the Lord of the Apostles*, and signet of prophets, the resting-place of Apostles and Prophets, the mansion of Abraham." (*Id.* p. 213.) "This is the reposing spot of the Prophets: this the burial-place of the Apostles: this the region to which God sent his servant, and his apostle, and his *Word*, which he cast upon Mary, from whence came that Spirit, Jesus, whom God honoured by his Apostleship, and by his glory, and by his gift of prophecy." (*Id.* p. 235.)* "Omad proceeds to say, To return to the Sakhrāh. The Christians had built a church upon it, (on their capture of it from the Saracens) and had never ceased to lift up their hands in blessing it, and raising their eyes to salute and extol it." (*Id.* p. 246.)†

Abulfeda states that a building formerly stood upon the site afterwards occupied by the Bait-el-Mukaddas, but leads us to infer that it was the Jewish temple.‡

Nor are Christian writers wanting, who claim for it a Christian origin.§ Bernard says there are various opinions respecting the building. Some assert that the church was rebuilt by the Emperor Constantine, and his mother Helena, in reverence of the Holy Cross found by her.|| The statements of Albertus Aquensis,¶ and of the Cardinal Jācobus de Vitriaco,** are already before the reader. The former adds the particulars, that a golden vase of about 200 marks' weight was suspended in the middle, containing, according to some authors, the 'blood of our Lord,' but according to others, 'Manna.'

* The Mussulmen pretend that the body of Christ was buried there. (*Les deux Jardins*, in Michaud, *Bibliographie des Croisades*, ii. 603.)

† See also pp. 246, 409, of Jalal-Addin.

‡ Speaking of Helena, he says: "Quæ quidem super sepulchrum, in quo Christiani dicunt Jesum esse conditum, extruxit templum, dirutaque illa quæ super 'as Szachrat' erat æde, conferri curavit super ipsam cœnum totius oppidi ad ægre faciendum Judeis. Itaque mansit....usque dum ea potiretur Abd-al-Malekh, qui in ea extruxit 'Kubbat as Szachrat' eo modo quo adhuc hodie superates conspicitur." (Abulfedæ, *Tabula Syriae*, pp. 86, 87.)

§ See Sandys, *Relat. of a Voy.*, p. 192.

|| "De hujus templi restauratore, ut nunc est, variæ sunt opiniones. Quidam enim sub Constantino imperatore, ab Helena matre sua reedificatum fuisse perhibent pro reverentia Sanctæ Crucis ab ea repertæ." (Bern. Thesaur., *De Acquisitione Terræ Sanctæ*; in Murator., *Rer. Ital. Script.*, vii. 712.)

¶ *Hist. Hierosol.*, vi. 24.

** *Historia Orientalis*, cap. 62, fol. 1220.

The Bait-el-Mukaddas was surmounted by a cross of gold, which is thus referred to by Ibn-Alatir.—“There was a large gold cross over the dome of the Sakhrah. The day that the city was surrendered (to Saladin), the cross was cut down. At this spectacle, the eyes of Christians, as well as of Mussulmen, were turned in this direction. When the cross fell, a general cry arose throughout the city and its environs: they were cries of joy to the Mussulmen, and of grief and rage to the Christians. The noise was such as if the world were about to be destroyed.”*

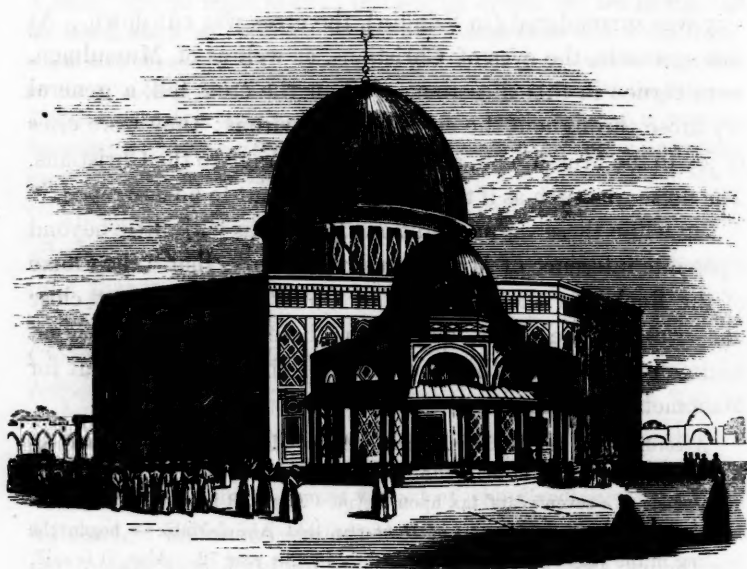
But while these vague traditions furnish us with little beyond a possible inference of Mr. Fergusson's theory, that “the Dome of the Rock was the Sepulchre of Christ,” we must not close our eyes to the clear, and, with these exceptions, explicit testimony of history, that the Dome of the Rock was built for Mahometan purposes.

“According to the Muthir Alfaram, Abdul-Malik-ibn-Marwan built al-Sakhrah and the temple of the Baitu-el-Mukaddas: he spent upon this building the produce of a seven years' tax upon Egypt. Again, it is said by Sabat-ibn-Juzi, in his book on the *Changes of Dynasties*, that Abdul-Malik — began the building in the year 69 *Heg.* and finished it in the year 72. Also, it is said, (that his son) Said-ibn-Abdul-Malik-Marwan built the Chapel of the Baitu-el-Mukaddas, and its outward covering. Again, we learn from Taher-ibn-Rija, and Yazid-ibn-Salam, that Abdul-Malik — wished to build a Chapel upon the Sakhrah of the Holy City, to be a free and lasting Chapel to Mussulmen; and did wish to do this without consulting, and asking the assistance of his subjects. . . . Then the Khalif assembled the best artificers of all his workmen, and commanded them to labour diligently at the work of the Chapel, and *made a vaulted crypt in it, before he built the Chapel.* Then he laid the foundation in the middle of the Mosque, and commanded that the Treasury † should be built upon the east side of the Sakhrah. . . . Thus he built and loaded it with riches; and he nominated as Commissioners for this purpose Rija-ibn-Haywah, and Yazid-ibn-Salam, and committed to the care of these the expenses of the building, and the things necessary for the undertaking, and that they should

* Reinaud, *Extraits des Hist. Arabes*, p 218.

† “The ‘Dome of the Chain’ is of great beauty. We have spoken of it in treating of the works of Abd-el-Melik-ibn-Mirvan. It served as a model for the dome of the Sakhrah.” Medjir-ed-din, in *Fundgruben des Orients*, ii. 89; see also Jalal Addin, p. 21, 24.

expend the treasure upon it to the last dinar, so as just to lay it out in the payment of expenses. They therefore undertook the building and the fitting-up, until the work was finished, and the building brought to a conclusion; and



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there was not a word left to be spoken of it. Then they wrote thus to him, he being at Damascus,—‘God hath brought to an end that which the Commander of Believers hath commanded us respecting the erection of the Chapel of the Sakhrah, the Sakhrah of the Holy City, and the Mosque el Aksa, and there remains not a word to be spoken about it. Moreover, there remains some surplus above the money granted to us by the Commander of Believers to that end, after 100,000 dinars have been expended thereon. Let the Commander of the Faithful convert it to the object he likes best.’ And the Khalif wrote to them, ‘The Commander of Believers committed to your charge whatsoever should be fit and proper when he appointed you superintendents of the *restoration* of this glorious and blessed Temple.’ Then they wrote to him, ‘We have thought that it well deserved of us that we should augment the amount by the ornaments of our women, taking the superfluity of our wealth. Convert it, then, to the purposes you like best.’ Then he wrote to them, ‘A great sum hath been expended and paid by the public for the Chapel; therefore I will spend and lay out upon it for that which every one may look at,—gold work, and ornament, a sort of common part of mosaic outside; and then also

a second, to be a covering against rain, and wind, and snow.' But Rija-ibn-Haywah and Yazid-ibn-Salam had already surrounded it with a screen of lattice-work, with small interstices, and a curtain of silk hanging loosely between pillars.

"Also there were, every day, two and fifty, to whom were committed the saffron, which they were pulverizing and grinding. Some worked in the night, and perfumed it with the vapour of musk, and amber, and rose-water, for the purpose of making incense. . . . Then they began the descent of the structure behind the Sakhrāh, and every part as far as their hands could reach was considered as polluted, until they had poured a stream of water upon the whole of it; and that which their hands could not reach, they washed upon the surface. . . . Then they came with censers of gold, and silver, and aloes-wood of Kimar, and incense perfumed with musk and amber. And the curtain was hanging all loosely round the pillars. Then they took the incense, and made a circuit around (the Chapel) until the space between them and the Chapel was filled with abundance of the smoke of incense. Then they lifted up a corner of the veil, and the incense escaped, and the grateful odour was diffused until it arrived at the head of the market. Therefore the passers by smelt the odour of the incense, and put a stop to the business in which they were engaged. Then a crier cried out among the people, 'The Sakhrāh is now open to all men—whosoever desires to pray, let him come.'"^{*}

I have here exhibited some of the arguments for and against the theory, that the 'Dome of the Rock' was originally the 'church of the Resurrection' built by Constantine: others may be seen in Mr. Fergusson's book. I must confess that, as far as the evidence at present goes, I cannot accept the theory: the reader must judge for himself: it is sufficient for me to show that the building does not occupy the site of Calvary. On the one hand is the preceding Mahometan tradition, that the church of the Resurrection originally occupied the site of the Dome of the Rock; and some floating Christian traditions, that the Dome of the Rock was originally built by Christians: on the other hand is the circumstantial evidence of Mahometan historians, that the Dome of the Rock was built by Mahometans; in addition to which are numerous Christian traditions, which describe the church of the Resurrection as lying north of Sion and west of the Temple. The church of the 'sepulchre' was destroyed seven times by fire: the Dome of the Rock, if we may believe

^{*} Jalal-Addin, *Hist. of the Temple of Jerus.*, pp. 184-189.

Mr. Fergusson, is in the same state as when finished by Constantine. Cyril describes the church of the Resurrection as shadowed by overhanging cliffs. It is difficult to imagine them in its present situation, or indeed anywhere but in the valley of Hinnom: it would be impossible to find them in the Temple area. Some Christian writers are brought forward, who hint at a transference of site, but their forms of expression are attributable, on the other hand, to an ambiguity of style. The improbability of the circumstance may be alleged against the site proposed by Mr. Fergusson; but who would have supposed, looking merely at the Bible narrative, and the plan of Jerusalem, that the Christians would ever have selected the present site for the building of their church? On the one hand, then, is the strong evidence of the architecture of the building: on the other, is the testimony of history and tradition.

Perhaps the key to the difficulty arising from the contradiction of traditional evidence may be found in the parallelism which exists between the two structures, and between the purposes for which they were erected. The religion of Constantine, as that of Mahomet, was founded by the sword; but there is this difference between them—the one made war the instrument of supporting his religious imposture, the other made religion a means of strengthening his political power. The motives which probably induced Constantine to build the Church of the 'Holy Sepulchre', and to make Jerusalem a holy city, have been already depicted:* precisely similar were the causes which led to the establishment of Jerusalem as a Mahometan city, and to the erection of its sacred edifices.† Do the

* *Supra*, pp. 324-326.

† "Abdel-Malik built at Jerusalem, in the year 72, (Hegira,) the cupola which covers the rock Sakhrah, and the mosque called Aksa: the motive of which was to prevent the people from going to Mecca, which city was in the possession of his rival, Abd-allah-ben-Zobair.... They went round the rock, as they had been accustomed to do round the Kaaba." (*Vie d'Abd-allah-ben-Zobair*, par M. Quatremère. *Journ. Asiat.*, 2nd serie, vol. x. p. 141.)

"Inauguratus est Abdul-Malek-ibn-Merwan, anno 75. Mittens hic Hierosolyma templum auxit donec petram in ipsum inferet hominesque Hierosolyma

Christians point to the pious Constantine, and hold forth to admiration his ardent zeal and Christian humility?—The Moslems record the saint-like Omar, entering as a conqueror into Jerusalem, clothed in his garments of camel's hair. Do the Christians tell of the pollution with which the 'Holy Sepulchre' had been covered by Hadrian?—The Moslems describe the desecration of the site of their temple, by the Christians in hatred of the Jews, by heaping over it piles of dung,* and the cleansing of it by Omar, who carried away the filth in the folds of his mantle. Have the Christians selected a false site for their 'Holy Sepulchre'?—and shall the Mahometans hesitate in setting up a supposititious site for their sacred temple? If the Christians designate their shrine as the 'Holy Sepulchre,'—the Moslems will call theirs Bait-el-Mukaddas, the 'Holy Abode.' If the Christians venerate a grotto hewn out of a rock,—the Moslems also will have a rock with a sacred grotto.† If prayers are considered to be more especially heard when offered in the grot of Calvary,—the Moslems believe that peculiar efficacy is to be attributed to prayers offered within the grotto of the Sakhras.‡ The one shows the stone on which the angel sat,—the other shows where the destroying angel sat in the time of David. If all the Fathers of the Church affirm that Adam lies buried beneath the rock of Calvary,—the Moslem Doctors will assert that he is buried with his head towards the rock Sakhras.§ If the Christians believe themselves to be authorized by Scripture in asserting that Golgotha occupies the 'midst of the

peregrinari jussit, Meccham verò adire vetuit propter Abdollaum-ibn-Zobair." Eutychius, *Annales*, v. 364. Jalal-Addin, p. 241.

* Jalal-Addin, p. 179.

† "This grotto is one of the most holy places of the earth." Medjir-ed-din, in *Fundgruben*, ii. 88.

‡ "Under the rock is a grotto in which the prayers of men are answered under all circumstances."—*Id.* "Holy pilgrims [Mussulmen] entering it, come forth quite free from sin."—Jalal-Addin, p. 52. See also pp. 48-50; 70-83: and Medjir-ed-din, *Fundgruben*, ii. 380.

§ Medjir-ed-din, ii. 375.

earth,*—the Moslems (certainly with equal reason) narrate that Sakhrah is the centre of the earth, and that it rests upon the body of a huge serpent, whose head is in the east, and its tail in the west, supporting the whole world.† If the Christians insist upon the efficacy of pilgrimages,—the Moslems point to pilgrimages to the ‘Holy House,’ of far greater antiquity than anything of which they can boast.‡ Do the Christians show you the tomb of Melchizedek, and the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, and the exact places where all imaginable things took place?—The Moslems show you the stone on which Jacob slept, and tell you of the place of Joseph’s burial,§ and of “the palm-tree upon which the rock Sakhrah reposes, and under which issues one of the rivers of Paradise, beneath which sit Asia, the wife of Pharaoh, and Maria, the son of Amran.”|| Do the Christians give out that men shall be judged at the ‘Holy Sepulchre,’—The Moslems insist that “Israfil will call men to judgment from the rock Sakhrah.¶

Nor are the Christians particular as to what they allege, so that it conduce to their pecuniary advantage. They are even willing to copy from the Turks. Even Omar’s cloak of camel’s hair they would be content to call the garment of John the Baptist, did they think the relic** would fill the coffers of their treasury. Not

* Ps. lxxiv. 12: “Thou hast wrought salvation in the midst of the earth.” (Cyril, *Catech.*, xiii. 28.) † Medjir-ed-din, ii. 387. Jalal-Addin, p. 18.

‡ “It was one of the rocks of Paradise; it was the first place cultivated on the earth, and it will remain forty years after the rest of the world is destroyed.” Jalal-Addin, p. 19: Medjir-ed-din, ii. 385, 387.

“It is not known whether in the life-time of Adam there existed any foundation of the Baitu-el-Mukaddas.” “This foundation was laid by Shem, the son of Noah.”

“Another tradition relates, that Adam performed the second pilgrimage to the Baitu-el-Mukaddas.” Jalal-Addin, pp. 100, 101.

§ “The Khalif al Muktadir-Billah saw Joseph in all his beauty, and gracefulness of form.” Jalal-Addin, p. 365.

|| Medjire-din, quoting Ybad-ibn-Samit, who had it from the lips of the Prophet. *Fundgruben*, ii. 384.

¶ *Id.* p. 378.

** When the Christians had gained possession of the Sakhra, they “erected

satisfied with breaking fragments from the Holy Sepulchre, which they carried off to other lands, they are accused by the Turks of breaking off pieces of the Sakhrāh, which they sold for their weight in gold.* They adopt the Bait-el-Mukaddas, though they call it the house of Anna the prophetess, where the Virgin Mary lived, busied with the care of the Temple till the period of her espousals with Joseph,† and they believe that the Ark of the Covenant lies concealed beneath the rock.‡

From these considerations, I would submit the possibility that the form of the Bait-el-Mukaddas of Abdel-Malik was copied from that of the Church of the 'Holy Sepulchre' by Constantine.

XII. PLEAS IN JUSTIFICATION.

The Objections hitherto urged against the site now believed to be that of the 'holy sepulchre' are—its being in the centre of the modern city; its requiring the position of the western wall of Acra to be such as to greatly restrict the area of the ancient city; its requiring such wall to be built on greatly disadvantageous ground, across the lower slope of a hill; its being in such immediate neighbourhood of the Pool of Hezekiah, which

separately from the other buildings, at the 'place of Mahomet's foot' a little Chapel, raised upon marble pillars, and said, "This is the place whereon Christ set his-foot." Jalal-Addin, p. 246: Emad—Eddin, in Reinaud, *Extr. des Hist. Arabes*, p. 217. Michaud, v. 151. *Les deux Jardins* in the *Bibl. des Crois.* ii. 602.

* "The Christians had covered the rock with marble, because the priests had been surprised several times in knocking off fragments, which they sold for their weight in gold, to their brethren in the west. The stone was believed to insure happiness. Ibn-Alatyr, in Reinaud, *Extr. des Hist. Arabes*, p. 217. Jalal-Addin, p. 249. Michaud, v. 153.

† Michaud, v. 150.

‡ Alb. Aquen. vi. 24, p. 281. The friends of Catholic tradition may object to this comparison of the 'holy places' with the fables of Mahomedanism; but it is this very fabulousness which makes the Oriental traditions more honest. The Eastern writers indulge their fancy to the extreme: they make use of the most extravagant hyperboles, and then, to show that all is fiction, they add—"But God knows." "Thus men say: but Allah knows best."

we know to have been within the city, that the wall could not have inclosed one without taking in the other; its being considerably to the east of the position, which must have been occupied by the gate Gennath; its too great proximity to what its advocates show as the line of the Second Wall; its locating the place of crucifixion and the place of burial at too close vicinity to each other; the probability of mistake, owing to the acknowledged error of several traditional sites, the absence of proof of many others, and the certain falsehood of all the rest. To these topographical objections are to be added others of an historical nature, and others which must be received as valid from the very absurdity of their opposites; viz.—that the Christians and Jews were driven out of the city by the Romans; that no pilgrimages had taken place, and that the tomb of Christ had remained unknown, for three centuries; that its pretended discovery is rendered questionable by the lying wonders that were afterwards said to have accompanied it, (as the restoring to life a dead body, the finding the cross undestroyed, with its tablet written in Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, the nails, the sponge, the spear, etc. etc.) as also by the probability that Helena was deceived by Macarius; the inventing an exact location for each event which is narrated in the New Testament; and the demoralizing influence of the whole tradition;—all these and many other objections* have been urged against the accepted site of the ‘Holy Sepulchre,’ with such ability and eloquence, by various writers, that it would be unbecoming, as it is unnecessary, to consider them in detail: for what reader is so little interested in the question as to have abstained from examining the evidence which has been adduced?

Each and every one of these allegations had been met by the advocates of tradition, in a spirit of pre-determined hostility: no argument, however conclusive, is admitted to be of

* The Mahometan writers speak of “the place of magical incantations,” the “fascinating trick, and her net, and the priesthood with its spectres,” the “secret lurking places,” the “cheating magicians.” Jalal Addin, pp. 204, 205, 235.

any avail; it is either not listened to, or it is set aside from a secret conviction of the infallibility of holy tradition. The principal pleas, however, which have been raised against these allegations are the following:—

1. An appeal to the high character of Eusebius and Cyril, the chief witnesses, showing the improbability of their lending a hand to so infamous an imposture.

2. The argument of *Cui bono?*: or, Admitting that Eusebius and Macarius were so disposed, of what advantage could it have been to them to have fixed upon a wrong position;* one which, at that early period, must have been more evident than it is now, when it was so easy for them to have selected a site free from all suspicion.

3. Even if the Sepulchre and the site be false, Is it not better to believe them true, than to be in unhappy ignorance of this monument of our Lord's resurrection?

1. There is no action so good but what has an alloy of evil; so there is no action so evil but what carries with it some extenuation. We have already seen the motives which may have influenced Macarius.† Might he not, by simply taking advantage of the credulity of Helena, strengthen his influence in Jerusalem, and raise a monument which should be the means of quickening the faith of all succeeding generations? Granted that the site be fictitious, would not the worship of devotees be equally meritorious, if offered in faith? Might it not be the means, by promoting pilgrimages, of extending Christianity to foreign lands? Shall all these advantages be set aside by over-scrupulousness? Might not such a course have the effect of depressing the holy ardour of Helena's temperament?—It would be folly and sin to abstain from so salutary an act. Again, shall Eusebius refuse his connivance at so laudable an undertaking? Shall he forego this golden opportunity of causing the Church to triumph over her enemies? May it not be the harbinger of further bounties to the Church? Will not the action please the Emperor? Shall he afflict the aged Helena, and perchance give offence to Constantine, whom he affects to reverence as a

* Newman, *Essay*, clvii.

† See *ante*, p. 324, 326.

god?—His consent cannot be withheld. Again, shall Cyril, after twenty-five years experience of the advantages which have accrued, confess the pious fraud? Shall he destroy by an untimely word, the good which his predecessors have so wisely brought to pass? Shall he bring anguish to the souls of thousands who have felt consolation by a visit to the sacred shrine? Shall he incur the danger to which he might be exposed by the anger of an offended priesthood?—No, let him rather lengthen its cords, and strengthen its stakes.*

Mr. Newman observes, "What is to be urged against Eusebius, I know not."† The following are some of the extravagancies of Eusebius's style of writing, taken at random:—

He considers that the new quarter of the city, where Constantine built his church, was the 'New Jerusalem' spoken of in Revelations. (*Vita Const.* iii. 33.) In his oration in honour of the sepulchre, he is reported by his commentator, Valesius, to apply to it Zeph. iii. 8, "Therefore wait upon me, saith the Lord, until the day that I rise up for a witness." (*Septuag.*) Thus he "endeavoured to gain from the prophetic visions apt illustrations of the symbols it contained." (iv. 45.) In the same manner he applied to Ps. lxxxviii. 10, "Dost thou show wonders among the dead?" (*Comm.* p. 549.) He maintained that Constantine was, as it were, endued with a prophetic spirit; (iii. 29.) He resembled him to "his Saviour, who as the sown corn, multiplied from a single grain, so did our thrice blessed prince become multiplied, as it were, through the succession of his sons," (iv. 72,) whom he designates "a Trinity, as it were, of pious sons." (iv. 40.)

As for his pupil, the blessed Constantine "considered it evident that the

* Or, we may acquit all these of any knowledge or participation in the act, and lay the whole blame on the workmen, who would be only too willing to carry out their wishes,—like their descendants of Rome and Naples, who, if a suitable recompense be held out to them, are ready to find vases, statues, or bronzes, or anything else you may desire.

† In speaking of the 'invention of the cross,' Mr. Williams says: "However strange or startling the fact may appear, it is better to suspend the judgment, if we are not satisfied with the evidence, than to impute so great a crime as imposture and fraud to men who, for aught we know to the contrary, may have been eminent saints." (*Holy City*, p. 306.) But surely the Holy Scriptures prove that those whom we *do know* to have been "eminent saints" were guilty of dishonesty and falsehood, under the influence of temptation, even in the apostolic times: and it is to be feared that instances are by no means wanting, even in later times, of a like failing.

virgin (Erythræan Sibyl) uttered these verses [an acrostic, the initial letters of which read 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, Cross,'] under the influence of Divine inspiration," and he esteemed "her blessed, whom the Saviour thus selected to unfold his gracious purpose towards us." (*Constantine's Orat.* 18.)

Let us now examine what credibility is to be attached to the testimony of the second witness, Cyril. Listen to the proofs which he adduces in confirmation of the Sepulchre, in his two Sermons on the Crucifixion and on the Resurrection.

Christ's death took place at Easter, for God created man in the spring of the year.—"Let the earth bring forth grass." (Gen. i. 11.) See the time typified also in Solomon's *Song* ii. 11.

The '*Place of a skull*' is a type of Christ, as *head of the Church*. (Eph. v. 23; 1 Cor. xi. 3.) "The head suffered in the '*place of a skull*': O wondrous prophetic adaptation!"

"Tell us, O prophets, the exact truth concerning his tomb, also where it is placed, and where we shall seek it. And they say, *Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn. Look and behold.* (Is. li. 1. *Sept.*) Thou hast in the gospel, In a sepulchre hewn in stone, which was hewn out of a rock. (Luke xxiii. 53; Mark xv. 46.) And what happens next? What kind of a door has the sepulchre? Again, another prophet says,—*They cut off my life in the dungeon, and cast a stone upon me.* (Lam. iii. 53.)"

"Whence did the Saviour arise? He says, in the *Song of Songs*,—(ii. 10.) *Rise up, my love, and come away:* and afterwards, *In the cleft of the rock.* But where is the rock which has in it this cleft? Lies it in the midst of the city, or near the walls and the outskirts? And is it in the ancient walls, or in the outer walls which were built afterwards? He says then, in the *Canticles*, (ii. 14. *Sept.*) *In the cleft of the rock, near to the outer wall.*"

Now, in the place where he was crucified there was a garden. (John xix. 41.) The garden of Paradise was a type of the garden of Golgotha. In the *Canticles* (v. 1.) we read, *I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse:* Again, (iv. 12.) *A garden inclosed, a fountain sealed.* Again, (vi. 11.) *I went down into the garden of nuts.* "The place of his burial was a garden, and that which was planted therein was a vine." (John xv. 1; Ps. lxxxv. 11.)

They gave him wine mingled with myrrh. (Mark xv. 23.) *I have gathered my myrrh.* (Sol's. *Song* v. 1.)

The graves were opened. (He refers to Psalm lxxxviii. 5.)

"As the resurrection took place *early in the morning*, so Zephaniah, in the person of Christ, says to his disciples, *Prepare thyself, rise up early.*" (iii. 7 *Sept.*)

Mary's seeking the Lord at the sepulchre is typified by Sol's. *Song* iii. 1-4. The women's bringing spices to the tomb is foretold in Sol's. *Song* (iv. 14 and v. 1), *Myrrh and aloes and all the chief spices.*

Therefore await me, saith the Lord, on the day of my Resurrection, at the Testimony. (Zeph. iii. 8 *Sept.*) "Seest thou that the prophet foresaw even that the place of the resurrection should be called the Testimony?"

They gave him a piece of a broiled fish, and of an honeycomb. "Thou seest how was fulfilled the Scripture, *I have eaten my bread with my honey.*" (Sol's *Song* v. 1. *Sept.*)

He alludes to Peter's *warming himself by the fire* as a fulfilment of Zech. xiv. 6, 7, *Sept.*; and he brings forward, as witnesses of the resurrection, "Tabitha, who was, in his name, raised from the dead—the shadow of Peter passing by—the handkerchiefs and aprons—the palm tree—even the stone, which was then rolled away, itself testifies of the resurrection, lying there to this day—the draught of fishes and the fire of coals with the fish laid thereon—among reeds the reed, among herbs the hyssop, among the things of the sea the sponge, among trees the wood of the cross."

But this may be considered as the extravagant effusion of a heated imagination. But what must be said of the following? Must we not confess that the testimony of one who adduces as proof of the truth of Christianity, the wood of the cross,—the shameful traffic in which he himself had instituted; by whose command the trees of the distant forests were cut down and distributed piecemeal over the whole of Christendom—cannot be received as evidence of the truth of that which the Church at Jerusalem felt it its policy to call the 'Holy Sepulchre.'

"For though I should deny it, (the Resurrection,) this Golgotha confutes me, near which we are now assembled: the wood of the cross confutes me, which has from hence been distributed piecemeal to all the world." (xiii. 4.) "The holy wood of the cross is His witness, which is seen among us to this day, and by means of those who have in faith taken thereof, has from this place now almost filled the whole world." (x. 19.) "Shouldest thou be disposed to deny it, (the crucifixion,) the very place, which all can see, refutes thee, even this blessed Golgotha . . . and further, the whole world is filled with portions of the wood of the cross." (iv. 7.) (*Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril*, in "Library of Fathers." Vol. ii. By Newman. 8vo. Oxford, 1838.)

The matter is explained by Paulinus more fully. He says, "Though chips are almost daily cut off from it, and given to devout persons, yet the sacred wood suffers thereby no diminution:" and Cyril in another place, compares the wonder to the

miraculous feeding of 5,000 persons, as recorded in the gospel. This same Paulinus feels no difficulty in interpreting Ps. xcix. 5; cxxxii. 7, *Let us worship at his footstool—at the place where his feet stood*, (Sept.)* as prophetic of the church of the Resurrection; (*Epist.* xi.); and in another half century, Theodoret (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 17,) adapts Zech. xiv. 20, to the bridle of Constantine's horse, (formed out of one of the nails of the cross;) *In that day there shall be upon the bells of the horses, 'Holiness unto the Lord.'* Even in Jerome's time it was asserted† that Adam was buried under Calvary, and that the blood of Christ, distilling through the ground, reached his skull, thus fulfilling the prophecy, (Ephes. v. 14,) *Awake from the dead, thou that sleepest, and Christ shall give thee life*: and this is adopted by Epiphanius, Augustine, Cyprian, Athanasius, Ambrose, Origen, Theophylactus, Chrysostom and Basil.‡ “The existence of the cave was appealed to as a fulfilment of Scripture prophecy; for the prophet speaking concerning the Lord Jesus buried in it, says—*He dwelt in the lofty cave of an exceeding strong rock*, (Is. xxiii. 16 Sept.,) and its adornment is thought to be foretold by the same prophet, when he writes (xi. 10,) *and his resting place shall be glorious.*”§

I cannot do better than quote here the remarks of the learned Lightfoot:—

“The *studium partium* (favour to party) is officiousness sworn and engaged to a side. What this hath done in all stories, he knows but little of story that hath not observed. Officiousness to religion in general, and to good men in general, who were unknown, and unrelated to, hath done much,—this, more. When writers, in their relations, are minded to honour singular places, persons, and actions, it is hard to find them keeping within bounds. He is an historian, indeed, that can keep *ab odio procul et favore*, (free from envy and affection,)

* And, lest we should make a mistake, Villalpandus tells us, “non quidam in figura, aut in umbra, sed verè pedes ejus.” (*Apparatus Urb. ac Templi Hieros.*, i. 8, p. 32 a.)

† S. Hieron. in *Epist. Pauli ad Marcël.* This fable he refutes in his Comm. on Matth. xxvii. 33.

‡ See the references in Villalpandus, pp. 34, 35.

§ Williams, *Holy City*, ii. 81. Adamnanus.

especially when he writes near the time of those persons and actions which he treats of. When I read Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, and Sozomen, and Julian, *In Cesaribus—de Constantino*, I cannot but be suspicious on both hands that *studium partium, odium et favor* have made the contrary parties lay on so much black and white, that it is impossible to discern the true visage. Thousands of such relations, thus tainted, might be produced. Hence are more martyrs in the calendar than ever were in the world; and more miracles than ever men of reason, especially that know Scripture, did, or well can, believe....

"Another origin of falsehood in ecclesiastical history, is *animus decipiendi*. And this hath been sometimes done *pia fraude*; because histories do affect, and men are led by example. And, therefore, if piety and religion be promoted, no matter whether it be done by truth or falsehood. But sometimes this hath been done *impiissima impudentia*. Some there have been who have made it a trade to impose upon the belief of mankind,—either to amuse men's minds, or to abuse them, or to interrupt their study and believing of better things."—(*Sermon on the Church at Babylon*, 1 Pet. v. 13.)

What matters it whether Constantine did really pretend to see a cross in the heavens, and Helena pretend to find the true cross, and whether Eusebius and Macarius did or not give in their acquiescence? or whether these fables were invented in the following century?—It is enough to know that a gross fraud has been practised on the Church. What matters it whether "more intelligent pilgrims" of that period "placed no confidence in the minor traditions?" (*H. C.* p. 308.)—It is too much to know that many a weak brother has thereby fallen, for whom Christ died.

2. The argument of *Cui bono?* is not so easily answered. For, as Mr. Williams in some measure well observes—The less likely the situation, the more probable is it to be the true one. Indeed, from the very nature of the argument, it is one which can only be met by inference: and, therefore, the reader is referred to what has already been said on this subject. Either Macarius and his clergy must have been deceived as to the real site, and as to the ancient line of walls,—or they must have built their church within the city from motives of convenience or security,—or, as asserted by Mr. Fergusson, they must have subsequently transferred the site on occasion of their persecution by

the Mahometans. With the exception of a portion of the northern and western walls of Mount Zion, which were left standing by Titus, "the rest of the wall was so thoroughly laid even with the ground by those that dug it up to the foundations, that there was left nothing to make those that came thither believe that the city had ever been inhabited." (Jos. *Bell.* vi. 9, § 1, vii. 1, § 1.) On the rebuilding of the city by Hadrian, he found the Christian community limited to a few huts grouped round the 'Cœnaculum' of 'David's tomb,' and the possibility therefore is, that the new city was so restricted in its area, as to take in only a small portion of the ancient Acra, and its western wall might thus run eastward of the 'Holy Sepulchre.' Why should we give Macarius credit for more discernment in finding the place of burial, than he had exhibited in selecting the place of ascension? In the one case he builds his church on the summit of the Mount of Olives, esteeming that to be the most likely place for an ascent into heaven: in the other, he builds it outside the visible wall, regarding that to be the most convincing evidence of its accordance with Scripture. For if in the one case he acted with such precipitancy as to be insensible of the objection which in a more enlightened age would be brought forward to the spot he had selected, by reason of its want of agreement with Holy Scripture, so in the other case it is probable that the idea never occurred to him that the line of old wall, then no longer visible, would, after the lapse of so many centuries, in a thinking and antiquarian age be investigated, and its true position brought to light. This probability is strengthened by the many instances in which the sites handed down by tradition have been changed. Not only has the original site pointed out as that of the martyrdom of St. Stephen, and consecrated by a church, been acknowledged to be in error, and transferred to another spot,* but different

* In the year 600 it was stated to be outside the Jaffa Gate, or to the west of the city; in 695, it was found at the Cœnaculum on Mount Sion, or outside the south wall of the city: during the Crusades it was outside the Damascus

sites have been pointed out for the Aceldama, the place where Judas hung himself, the Fuller's field, and the position of the several gates and pools. Indeed, if we trusted to tradition alone, we should still find ourselves in doubt respecting many of the 'holy places.' The spirit which planned the sacred sites in geometrical arrangement and proximity within the church of the 'holy sepulchre' is equally manifest in the similar arrangement observable within the Cœnaculum, where one corner marks the precise spot where the Holy Supper was instituted; the second, where the Holy Spirit descended; the third, where the Virgin Mary died; and the fourth corner is occupied by the column to which Christ was tied and flogged. (Adamnanus, i. 13.)

3. The Third Plea, that even if the Sepulchre and the site be false, Is it not better to believe them true, than to be in unhappy ignorance of this monument of our Lord's resurrection? is alleged in various ways according to the feelings of different writers.* They repudiate the idea that the saints originated

Gate, on the north of the city: and since the fourteenth century it has been established on the east of the city. (Fergusson, *Essay*, pp. 168, 169.)

* Chateaubriand looks at the matter only in a poetical light—"Le seul moyen de voir un pays tel qu'il est, c'est de le voir avec ses traditions et ses souvenirs." (*Itinéraire*, tom. ii.) Allioli, in noticing Dr. Robinson's arguments, pictures to himself the misery of disbelief—"In wandering into the pathless and desolate wilderness of doubt, nevermore will the lips of the wearied pilgrim be refreshed with the living fountain, nevermore will his sight be gladdened by the palm-tree of joy." (*Handbuch der Bibl. Alterthumskunde*, ii. 276, § 133.) Prokesch consoles himself by saying—"I will not allow myself to be led into a controversy on the identity of the 'holy places.' Faith here is the most essential; and a few ells to the right or left are of little consequence." (*Denk. und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient*, 54.) The author of *Nozrani in Egypt and Syria* says—"If this is what we wish to believe, we may believe it." (p. 423, 2nd edit.) The same sentiment is expressed in nearly similar terms in Leeman, *Palästina*, s. 52; and in Ida Hahn Hahn, *Letters of a German Countess*, ii. 206. Von-Raumer confesses—"Were I even fully persuaded that the true sepulchre were a quarter, or half a mile from the present site—it can hardly be more—I would kneel down in entreaty to the objector, but not take him by the shoulder, and would say: You are mistaken, this is not the site." (*Beiträge zur bibl. Geog.*, art. *Palästina*, Jerus. § 3, s. 56.) Another writer gets over the dif-

an imposture, but urge that it is good to continue an error, supposing such to exist. But then why defend the saints from the charge? If it is good to keep up and circulate an error, it was good to originate it.

But let us consider what is the effect produced by this system, and by pilgrimages. If the 'Easter Ceremonies' of Jerusalem* had not been described in a more graphic manner than the writer of this notice could pretend to, he would lay before the reader a statement of the pagan spectacle which he beheld on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the 'Holy City;' the remembrance of which spectacle can never be effaced from the minds of those who have once witnessed it. By the false position in which the Greek Church annually places itself on this occasion, it appears to less advantage than the Church of Rome: but it should not be forgotten that the 'holy fire' of the Greeks, now so ridiculed by the Romanists, was practised, if not invented, by their infallible Church, though the period of its abrogation has long since passed. But irrespectively of the solemnities of this Easter bear-garden, let any one consider the disgraceful wranglings* here exhibited between the Greek and Roman Churches, let him inspect the

ficulty by affirming of Macarius and his colleagues—"Je répondrai, qu'ils étaient dirigés par l'Esprit de Dieu:" (Monseigr. Mialin, *Les Saints Lieux*, ii. 34:) while another asserts that "There is one passage of Scripture, and it is one of the most important in the New Testament, which explains this whole mystery, and proves the miracle beyond dispute—'The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall tell you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance which I have said unto you.'" (Dr. Aiton, *Lands of the Messiah, Mahomet, and the Pope*, p. 195.)

* What a disgrace to Christendom, that a Turkish pasha should feel it requisite to address the following exhortation to the Latin, Greek, and Armenian Christians of Jerusalem! "Seeing the anniversary of your Founder's death draws nigh, when pilgrims from all parts of the world are expected, I entreat you to live peaceably and harmoniously together, and approve yourselves as worthy examples to the various sheep which come under your care. I summoned you, on purpose, to this place, that this tomb—which, you say, once contained the body of your Lord and Master—may testify against you. Jesus,

parti-coloured plan of the Church prepared by Mr. Williams, let him read in the public journals the shameless contentions of the two Churches relative to the employment of money generously offered for the repairs of the structure by the liberal-minded Commander of the Faithful, let him reflect on the mercenary and heartless exactions on the poor pilgrims, on the profane traditions and awful superstitions of the place and its boasted meritorious efficacy, and he must confess that the system is one of incalculable injury to the souls of its devotees. So far then from the Church of the 'Holy Sepulchre' being the means of promoting a lively sympathy in the merits of Christ's sufferings, such feelings would be much enhanced were the edifice destroyed. Who can doubt that now the Valley of Gethsemane, with its gnarled olives, is viewed with greater interest as the probable site of the garden of Christ's sufferings, than was this same valley when the church which it once possessed was still existing?

"Oh! if the lichen now were free to twine
O'er the dark entrance of that rock-hewn cell,
Say, should we miss the gold-encrusted shrine,
Or incense fumes' intoxicating spell?
Would not the whispering breeze, as evening fell,
Mark deeper music in the palm-tree's shade
Than choral prayer, or chaunted ritual's swell?
Can the proud shafts of Helena's colonnade
Match thy time-hallowed stems, Gethsemane's holy glade?

The Pilgrimage, xxiii.

Quanto præstantius esset

Numen aquæ, viridi si margine clauderet undas
Herba, nec ingenuum violarent marmora tophum!

Juv. Sat. iii.

The following passages from Gregory of Nyssa (A.D. 370.)

the son of Mary, enjoined peace upon all his followers. Follow ye, therefore, the path he appointed you." This took place in the year 1850. One would think that the honest Turk had discovered, in the Bible, that touchstone of Christianity—"By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, *If ye have love one to another.*"

and Jerome have been often quoted or referred to, but they cannot be too often repeated:—

“St. Gregory of Nyssa visited Jerusalem, where he had witnessed the grievous scandals which the rage for pilgrimages occasioned. On his return to his diocese, he was consulted by a Cappadocian priest on this subject, and his reply, which is still extant, contains a full exposition of his views on the benefit and expediency of such miracles. He sets forth, that the sacred writings do not reckon a visit to Jerusalem among the number of good works: that such journeys conduce not to virtue, and make nothing to heaven. . . . What advantage then is to be derived from the holy places? Is it that Christ is still personally conversant among them, and cannot come to us? or is it that the Holy Spirit there abounds, and cannot pass hither? If the case were really so, if Jerusalem were more enriched with grace than other countries, it might be expected that its inhabitants should be less wicked; but so far as he had observed, the very contrary was the fact; there was no place more addicted to crime of the blackest dye.”* [Then apologizing for his own pilgrimage, he continues:—]

“Neither was the journey necessary for the increase of his faith. Before he saw Bethlehem, he believed that the Son of God had assumed flesh in the womb of the Virgin; he believed the Resurrection, before he saw the Holy Sepulchre; and confessed the glorious Ascension, before he saluted the Mount of Olives. One only thing he had learnt on the journey,—that his own country was far more holy than foreign lands. It is not by change of clime that we shall come to God, but rather He will come to us wheresoever we be, if our soul be made meet for His habitation; while, on the contrary, if with hearts full of iniquity we fly to Golgotha, to Mount Olivet, or the Holy Sepulchre, we shall still be as far from Christ as though we had never known the principles of the faith. My friend,” [he concludes,] “persuade your brethren not to quit Cappadocia for Jerusalem, but to go out of their bodies that they may be joined to the Lord. . . . The Divine Spirit ‘bloweth where it listeth,’ and believers in this land shall partake of the gifts of grace according to the measure of faith, not by a visit to Jerusalem.”†

* Damoiseau, in 1818, writes—“Je ne vis, dans leur enceinte, que des hommes, avec l'ignorance, les passions, les faiblesses qu'ils ont presque partout.” (*Voy. en Syrie*, ii. 204.)

† S. Greg. Nyss. *Op.* vol. ii. pp. 1084-7, edit. Par. 1615. Mr. Williams, from whom I have quoted this extract, [vol. i. pp. 266-268] adduces this passage, and the following one from S. Jerome, with the object of showing that all the early fathers were influenced by similar sentiments, and, therefore, that it is exceedingly unjust to accuse them of superstitious doctrine. “Is this really one of those ancient doctors who are so frequently and freely charged with superstitious ignorance for their veneration for the sacred localities, and who, it is represented, took such pains to palm upon others the inventions of their own imagination, for filthy lucre's sake?”

Jerome testifies to the same effect:—

"The city to be sought after and extolled, is not that which killed the Prophets and shed the blood of Christ,* but that which is made glad by the streams of the river; that which is set upon a hill and cannot be hid; that which the Apostle calls 'the Mother of the Saints,' in which he glories to be a fellow-citizen with the righteous. I dare not confine the Omnipotence of God in so narrow a boundary, nor limit within a certain district Him whom the Heavens cannot contain. Believers will be weighed, not by diversity of clime, but by their measure of faith; and 'the true worshippers worship the Father neither at Jerusalem, nor yet on Mount Gerizim;' for God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth.' 'The wind bloweth where it listeth'—'The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.' After that the fleece of Judæa was dry, and the whole world sprinkled with the heavenly dew, and 'many have come from the east and from the west, and laid down in Abraham's bosom,' from thenceforth God is no more known in Jewry only; His name is great not in Israel alone; but the voice of the Apostles has 'gone forth into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.' The place of the Cross and the Resurrection may be profitable to those who take up their cross daily, and rise with Christ, and show themselves meet for such an habitation; but for those who say 'The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord,' they must be reminded of the Apostle's words, 'Ye are the temple of the Lord, and the Holy Spirit dwelleth in you.' An entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven is open equally from Britain, as from Jerusalem; for 'the Kingdom of God is within you.'"[†]

"Well may the Turk, when Easter-tide collects
Its thousands for the Christian's holiest week,
Scowl in contempt upon the wrangling sects
Who desecrate the shrine at which they seek
To bid their rival clouds of incense reek.
If to the grave, whence angels rolled the stone,
Alike by Latin, Copt, Armenian, Greek,
This be the reverence paid, the homage shown,—
Well had its site remained unnoticed and unknown!"

The Pilgrimage, xxv.

* The rebuke of our Lord to those who built the tombs of the prophets, and garnished the sepulchres of the righteous, is as instructive to Christians now, as it was to the Jews at the time it was uttered.

[†] S. Hieron., *Epist. No. xlix*; Williams, *H. C.*, i. 268-270. To a similar effect is the language of Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryphon.*, p. 344, Edit. Thalem.